

# HISTORIC DOUBTS

ON THE

## LIFE AND REIGN

OF

King RICHARD the Third.

---

By Mr. HORACE WALPOLE.

---

L'Histoire n'est fondée que sur le temoignage des Auteurs qui nous l'ont transmise. Il importe donc extremement, pour la sçavoir, de bien connoître quels estoient ces Auteurs. Rien n'est à negliger en ce point ; le tems où ils ont vecû, leur naissance, leur patrie, la part qu'ils ont eue aux affaires, les moyens par lesquels ils ont été instruits, et l'intérêt qu'ils y pouvoient prendre, sont des circonstances essentielles qu'il n'est pas permis d'ignorer : delà depend le plus ou le moins d'autorité qu'ils doivent avoir : et sans cette connoissance, on courra risque très souvent de prendre pour guide un Historien de mauvaise foi, ou du moins, mal informé.

Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. Vol. X.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DODSLEY in Pall-Mall.  
M.DCC.LXVIII.

# HISTORIC DOUBTS

ON THE

## THE BATTLE OF BUNDS

BY RICHARD THE THIRD

THE BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE

THE BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE



THE BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE

THE BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE

THE BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE  
BATTLE OF BUNDS, A HISTORY OF THE

BRITISH MUSEUM



# P R E F A C E.

SO incompetent has the generality of historians been for the province they have undertaken, that it is almost a question, whether, if the dead of past ages could revive, they would be able to reconnoitre the events of their own times, as transmitted to us by ignorance and misrepresentation. All very ancient history, except that of the illuminated Jews, is a perfect fable. It was written by priests, or collected from their reports; and calculated solely to raise lofty ideas of the origin of each nation. Gods and demi-gods were the principal actors; and truth is seldom to be expected where the personages are supernatural. The Greek historians have no advantage over the Peruvian, but in the beauty of their language, or from that language being more familiar to us. Mango Capac, the son of

the sun, is as authentic a founder of a royal race, as the progenitor of the Heraclidæ. What truth indeed could be expected, when even the identity of person is uncertain? The actions of one were ascribed to many, and of many to one. It is not known whether there was a single Hercules or twenty.

As nations grew polished, History became better authenticated. Greece itself learned to speak a little truth. Rome, at the hour of its fall, had the consolation of seeing the crimes of its usurpers published. The vanquished inflicted eternal wounds on their conquerors—but who knows, if Pompey had succeeded, whether Julius Cæsar would not have been decorated as a martyr to publick liberty? At some periods the suffering criminal captivates all hearts; at others, the triumphant tyrant. Augustus, drenched in the blood of his fellow-citizens, and Charles Stuart, falling in his own blood, are held up to admiration. Truth is left out of the discussion; and



and odes and anniversary sermons give the law to history and credulity.

But if the crimes of Rome are authenticated, the case is not the same with its virtues. An able critic has shown that nothing is more problematic than the history of the three or four first ages of that city. As the confusions of the state increased, so do the confusions in its story. The empire had masters, whose names are only known from medals. It is uncertain of what princes several empresses were the wives. If the jealousy of two antiquaries intervenes, the point becomes inexplicable. Oriuna, on the medals of Carausius, used to pass for the moon : of late years it is become a doubt whether she was not his consort. It is of little importance whether she was moon or empress : but how little must we know of those times, when those land-marks to certainty, royal names, do not serve even that purpose ! In the cabinet of the king of France are several coins of sovereigns, whose country cannot now be guessed at.

The want of records, of letters, of printing, of critics ; wars, revolutions, factions, and other causes, occasioned these defects in ancient history. Chronology and astronomy are forced to tinker up and reconcile, as well as they can, those uncertainties. This satisfies the learned—but what should we think of the reign of George the Second, to be calculated two thousand years hence by eclipses, lest the conquest of Canada should be ascribed to James the First?

At the very moment that the Roman empire was resettled, nay, when a new metropolis was erected, in an age of science and arts, while letters still held up their heads in Greece ; consequently, when the great outlines of truth, I mean events, might be expected to be established ; at that very period a new deluge of error burst upon the world. Christian monks and saints laid truth waste ; and a mock sun rose at Rome, when the Roman sun sunk at Constantinople. Virtues and vices were rated by the standard of bigotry ; and the militia of the church

2

became



became the only historians. The best princes were represented as monsters ; the worst, at least the most useless, were deified, according as they depressed or exalted turbulent and enthusiastic prelates and friars. Nay, these men were so destitute of temper and common sense, that they dared to suppose that common sense would never revisit the earth : and accordingly wrote with so little judgment, and committed such palpable forgeries, that if we cannot discover what really happened in those ages, we can at least be very sure what did not. How many general persecutions does the church record, of which there is not the smallest trace ? What donations and charters were forged, for which those holy persons would lose their ears, if they were in this age to present them in the most common court of judicature ? Yet how long were these impostors the only persons who attempted to write history !

But let us lay aside their interested lies, and consider how far they were qualified in other respects to transmit

transmit faithful memorials to posterity. In the ages I speak of, the barbarous monkish ages, the shadow of learning that existed was confined to the clergy : they generally wrote in Latin, or in verse, and their compositions in both were truly barbarous. The difficulties of rhyme, and the want of correspondent terms in Latin, were no small impediments to the severe march of truth. But there were worse obstacles to encounter. Europe was in a continual state of warfare. Little princes and great lords were constantly skirmishing and scrambling for trifling additions of territory, or wasting each others borders. Geography was very imperfect ; no police existed ; roads, such as they were, were dangerous ; and posts were not established. Events were only known by rumour, from pilgrims, or by letters carried by couriers to the parties interested : the public did not enjoy even those fallible vehicles of intelligence, newspapers. In this situation did monks, at twenty, fifty, an hundred, nay, a thousand miles distance (and under the circumstances I have mentioned even twenty miles



miles were considerable) undertake to write history — and they wrote it accordingly.

If we take a survey of our own history, and examine it with any attention, what an unsatisfactory picture does it present to us ! How dry, how superficial, how void of information ! How little is recorded besides battles, plagues, and religious foundations ! That this should be the case, before the Conquest, is not surprizing. Our empire was but forming itself, or re-collecting its divided members into one mass, which, from the desertion of the Romans, had split into petty kingdoms. The invasions of nations as barbarous as ourselves, interfered with every plan of policy and order that might have been formed to settle the emerging state ; and swarms of foreign monks were turned loose upon us with their new faith and mysteries, to bewilder and confound the plain good sense of our ancestors. It was too much to have Danes, Saxons, and Popes to combat at once !

b

Our

Our language suffered as much as our government ; and not having acquired much from our Roman masters, was miserably disfigured by the subsequent invaders. The unconquered parts of the island retained some purity and some precision. The Welsh and Erse tongues wanted not harmony : but never did exist a more barbarous jargon than the dialect, still venerated by antiquaries, and called *Saxon*. It was so uncouth, so inflexible to all composition, that the monks, retaining the idiom, were reduced to write in what they took or meant for Latin.

The Norman tyranny succeeded, and gave this Babel of savage sounds a wrench towards their own language. Such a mixture necessarily required ages to bring it to some standard : and, consequently, whatever compositions were formed during its progress, were sure of growing obsolete. However, the authors of those days were not likely to make these obvious reflections ; and indeed seem to have aimed at no one perfection. From the Conquest to the



reign of Henry the Eighth it is difficult to discover any one beauty in our writers, but their simplicity. They told their tale, like story-tellers ; that is, they related without art or ornament ; and they related whatever they heard. No councils of princes, no motives of conduct, no remoter springs of action, did they investigate or learn. We have even little light into the characters of the actors. A king, or an archbishop of Canterbury are the only persons with whom we are made much acquainted. The barons are all represented as brave patriots ; but we have not the satisfaction of knowing which of them were really so ; nor whether they were not all turbulent and ambitious. The probability is, that both kings and nobles wished to encroach on each other : and if any sparks of liberty were struck out, in all likelihood it was contrary to the intention of either the flint or the steel.

Hence has it been thought necessary to give a new dress to English history. Recourse has been had to

records, and they are far from corroborating the testimonies of our historians. Want of authentic materials has obliged our later writers to leave the mass pretty much as they found it. Perhaps all the requisite attention that might have been bestowed, has not been bestowed. It demands great industry and patience to wade into such abstruse stores as records and charters : and they being jejune and narrow in themselves, very acute criticism is necessary to strike light from their assistance. If they solemnly contradict historians in material facts, we may lose our history ; but it is impossible to adhere to our historians. Partiality man cannot intirely divest himself of ; it is so natural, that the bent of a writer to one side or the other of a question is almost always discoverable. But there is a wide difference between favouring and lying--and yet I doubt whether the whole stream of our historians, misled by their originals, have not falsified one reign in our annals in the grossest manner. The moderns are only guilty of taking on trust what they ought to have examined more scrupulously, as the



authors whom they copied were all ranked on one side in a flagrant season of party. But no excuse can be made for the original authors, who, I doubt, have violated all rules of truth.

The confusions which attended the civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster, threw an obscurity over that part of our annals, which it is almost impossible to dispel. We have scarce any authentic monuments of the reign of Edward the Fourth ; and ought to read his history with much distrust, from the boundless partiality of the succeeding writers to the opposite cause. That diffidence should increase as we proceed to the reign of his brother.

It occurred to me some years ago, that the picture of Richard the Third, as drawn by historians, was a character formed by prejudice and invention. I did not take Shakespeare's tragedy for a genuine representation, but I did take the story of that reign for a  
tragedy

tragedy of imagination. Many of the crimes imputed to Richard seemed improbable ; and, what was stronger, contrary to his interest. A few incidental circumstances corroborated my opinion ; an original and important instrument was pointed out to me last winter, which gave rise to the following sheets ; and as it was easy to perceive, under all the glare of encomiums which historians have heaped on the wisdom of Henry the Seventh, that he was a mean and unfeeling tyrant, I suspected that they had blackened his rival, till Henry, by the contrast, should appear in a kind of amiable light. The more I examined their story, the more I was confirmed in my opinion :—and with regard to Henry, one consequence I could not help drawing ; that we have either no authentic memorials of Richard's crimes, or, at most, no account of them but from Lancastrian historians ; whereas the vices and injustice of Henry are, though palliated, avowed by the concurrent testimony of his panegyrists. Suspicions and calumny were fastened on Richard as so many assassinations.

The



The murders committed by Henry were indeed executions—and executions pass for prudence with prudent historians ; for when a successful king is chief justice, historians become a voluntary jury.

If I do not flatter myself, I have unravelled a considerable part of that dark period. Whether satisfactorily or not, my readers must decide. Nor is it of any importance whether I have or not. The attempt was mere matter of curiosity and speculation. If any man, as idle as myself, should take the trouble to review and canvass my arguments, I am ready to yield so indifferent a point to better reasons. Should declamation alone be used to contradict me, I shall not think I am less in the right.

Nov. 28th, 1767.

*+ The Murder  
of Henry & the  
rest of them  
were an execution  
with ~~some~~ <sup>more</sup>  
It might be  
founded in  
State Necessity  
says this  
Prudent  
Doubter —  
See P. 49*

rch  
tions

The numbers contained by it are not indeed ex-  
ceptional — and exceptions are for the most part  
presented in the form of a successful king, a  
chief justice, historians become a voluntary jury.

It is not for me to say I have not made an  
exceptional part of that dark period. Whether this  
factor or not, my readers must decide. Nor is it of  
any importance whether I have or not. The subject  
was more matter of curiosity and speculation than  
any man, as idle as myself, should make the trouble  
to review and canvass my arguments. I am ready to  
yield to indifferent better reasons. Should  
objection alone be used to contradict me, I shall

3 ME 62

not think I am less in the right.  
New York, 1867.  
The numbers contained by it are not indeed ex-  
ceptional — and exceptions are for the most part  
presented in the form of a successful king, a  
chief justice, historians become a voluntary jury.



---



---

# HISTORIC DOUBTS

ON THE

## LIFE and REIGN of King RICHARD III.

**T**HERE is a kind of literary superstition, which men are apt to contract from habit, and which makes them look on any attempt towards shaking their belief in any established characters, no matter whether good or bad, as a sort of prophanation. They are determined to adhere to their first impressions, and are equally offended at any innovation, whether the person, whose character is to be raised or depressed, were patriot or tyrant, saint or sinner. No indulgence is granted to those who would ascertain the truth. The more the testimonies on either side have been multiplied, the stronger is the conviction; though it generally happens that the original

B

evidence

evidence is wonderful slender, and that the number of writers have but copied one another; or, what is worse, have only added to the original, without any new authority. Attachment so groundless is not to be regarded; and in mere matters of curiosity, it were ridiculous to pay any deference to it. If time brings new materials to light, if facts and dates confute historians, what does it signify that we have been for two or three hundred years under an error? Does antiquity consecrate darkness? Does a lie become venerable from its age?

Historic justice is due to all characters. Who would not vindicate Henry the Eighth or Charles the Second, if found to be falsely traduced? Why then not Richard the Third? Of what importance is it to any man living whether or not he was as bad as he is represented? No one noble family is sprung from him.

However, not to disturb too much the erudition of those who have read the dismal story of his cruelties, and settled their ideas of his tyranny and usurpation, I declare I am not going to write a vindication of him. All I mean to show, is, that though he may have been as execrable as we are told he was, we have little or no reason to believe so. If the propensity of habit should still incline a single man to *suppose* that all he has read of Richard is true, I beg no

more,

*and yet he  
does it in  
every instance,  
even the murder  
of Hastings  
Rivers, Grey  
&c. &c. he  
says, perhaps  
the effect of  
curiosity—*



more, than that that person would be so impartial as to own that he has little or no foundation for supposing so.

I will state the list of the crimes charged on Richard; I will specify the authorities on which he was accused; I will give a faithful account of the historians by whom he was accused; and will then examine the circumstances of each crime and each evidence; and lastly, show that some of the crimes were contrary to Richard's interest, and almost all inconsistent with probability or with dates, and some of them involved in material contradictions.

*And lost them faithful all?  
Name, & given  
Name of faithful  
prophane*

Supposed crimes of Richard the Third.

- 1st. His murder of Edward prince of Wales, son of Henry the Sixth.
- 2d. His murder of Henry the Sixth.
- 3d. The murder of his brother George duke of Clarence.
- 4th. The execution of Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan.
- 5th. The execution of Lord Hastings.
- 6th. The murder of Edward the Fifth and his brother.
- 7th. The murder of his own queen.

To which may be added, as they are thrown into the list to blacken him, his intended match with his own niece Elizabeth, the penance of Jane Shore, and his own personal deformities.

I. Of the murder of Edward prince of Wales, son of Henry the Sixth.

Edward the Fourth had indubitably the hereditary right to the crown; which he pursued with singular bravery and address, and with all the arts of a politician and the cruelty of a conqueror. Indeed on neither side do there seem to have been any scruples: Yorkists and Lancastrians, Edward and Margaret of Anjou, entered into any engagements, took any oaths, violated them, and indulged their revenge, as often as they were depressed or victorious. After the battle of Tewksbury, in which Margaret and her son were made prisoners, young Edward was brought to the presence of Edward the Fourth; "but after the king," says Fabian, the oldest historian of those times, "had questioned with the said Sir Edward, and he had answered unto hym contrary his pleasure, he then strake him with his gauntlet upon the face; after which stroke, so by him received, he was by the kynges servants intently slaine." The chronicle of Croyland of the same date says, the prince was slain "ultracibus quorundam manibus;" but names nobody.

Hall, who closes his work with the reign of Henry the Eighth, says, that "the prince beyinge bold of stomache and of a good courage, answered the king's question (of how he durst so presumptuously enter into his realme with  
" banner



“ banner displayed) faiynge, to recover my father’s king-  
 “ dome and enheritage, &c. at which wordes kyng Edward  
 “ said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him,  
 “ or, as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet, whome in-  
 “ continent, they that stode about, which were George  
 “ duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Gloucester, Thomas  
 “ marques Dorset (son of queen Elizabeth Widville) and  
 “ William lord Hastrynges, sodainly murthered and  
 “ pitiously manquelled.” Thus much had the story gained  
 from the time of Fabian to that of Hall.

Hollingshed repeats these very words, consequently is a transcriber and no new authority.

John Stowe reverts to Fabian’s account, as the only one not grounded on hear-say, and affirms no more, than that the king cruelly smote the young prince on the face with his gauntlet, and after his servants slew him.

Of modern historians, Rapin and Carte, the only two who seem not to have swallowed implicitly all the vulgar tales propagated by the Lancastrians to blacken the house of York, warn us to read with allowance the exaggerated relations of those times. The latter suspects, that at the dissolution of the monasteries all evidences were suppressed that tended to weaken the right of the prince on the throne ;  
 but

but as Henry the Eighth concentrated in himself both the claim of Edward the Fourth and that ridiculous one of Henry the Seventh, he seems to have had less occasion to be anxious lest the truth should come out; and indeed his father had involved that truth in so much darkness, that it was little likely to force its way. Nor was it necessary then to load the memory of Richard the Third, who had left no offspring. Henry the Eighth had no competitor to fear but the descendants of Clarence, of whom he seems to have had sufficient apprehension, as appeared by his murder of the old countess of Salisbury, daughter of Clarence, and his endeavours to root out her posterity. This jealousy accounts for Hall charging the duke of Clarence, as well as the duke of Gloucester, with the murder of prince Edward. But in accusations of so deep a dye, it is not sufficient ground for our belief, that an historian reports them with such a frivolous palliative as that phrase, *as some say*. A cotemporary names the king's servants as perpetrators of the murder: Is not that more probable, than that the king's own brothers should have dipped their hands in so foul an affassination? Richard, in particular, is allowed on all hands to have been a brave and martial prince: he had great share in the victory at Tewksbury: Some years afterwards, he commanded his brother's troops in Scotland, and made himself master of Edinburgh. At the battle of

*This relates to the Difference of Reports; some saying that the King thrust the Prince from him, others that he struck him with his Gownlet. His accusation against Clarence, Gloucester, & the Marquis of Dorset, is reported with no sudden Palliative, but is Positive. See the foregoing Page —*



fought Richmond, and endeavoured to decide their quarrel by a personal combat, slaying Sir William Brandon, his rival's standard-bearer, with his own hand, and felling to the ground Sir John Cheney, who endeavoured to oppose his fury. Such men may be carried by ambition to command the execution of those who stand in their way; but are not likely to lend their hand, in cold blood, to a base, and, to themselves, useless assassination. How did it import Richard in what manner the young prince was put to death? If he had so early planned the ambitious designs ascribed to him, he might have trusted to his brother Edward, so much more immediately concerned, that the young prince would not be spared. If those views did not, as is probable, take root in his heart till long afterwards, what interest had Richard to murder an unhappy young prince? This crime therefore was so unnecessary, and is so far from being established by any authority, that he deserves to be entirely acquitted of it.

## II. The murder of Henry the Sixth.

This charge, no better supported than the preceding, is still more improbable. "Of the death of this prince," "Henry the Sixth," says Fabian, "divers tales wer told." "But the most common fame went, that he was sticken" "with a dagger by the handes of the duke of Gloceter."

*excepting  
Hall's work is  
positive, &  
the strong  
presumptive  
authority of  
the other histo-  
rians.  
What jealousy  
can we suppose  
in Henry 8.<sup>th</sup> of the  
Title of Clarence's  
The posterity attained  
friendship when  
he himself was in  
possession of the  
crown by the double  
Title of York & Lancaster.  
Yet he was jealous,  
& that jealousy accounts  
for Hall's charging Clarence  
with the murder - T. O.*

The author of the Continuation of the Chronicle of Croyland says only, that the body of king Henry was found lifeless (exanime) in the Tower. "Parcat Deus", adds he, "& spatium pœnitentiæ Ei donet, Quicumque sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini ausus est immittere. Unde et agens tyranni, patiensque gloriosi martyris titulum mereatur." The prayer for the murderer, that he may live to repent, proves that the passage was written immediately after the murder was committed. That the assassin deserved the appellation of tyrant, evinces that the historian's suspicions went high; but as he calls him *Quicumque*, and as we are uncertain whether he wrote before the death of Edward the Fourth or between his death and that of Richard the Third, we cannot ascertain which of the brothers he meant. In strict construction he should mean Edward, because as he is speaking of Henry's death, Richard, then only duke of Gloucester, could not properly be called a tyrant. But as monks were not good grammatical critics, I shall lay no stress on this objection. I do think he alluded to Richard; having treated him severely in the subsequent part of his history, and having a true monkish partiality to Edward, whose cruelty and vices he slightly noticed, in favour to that monarch's severity to heretics and ecclesiastic expiations. "Is princeps, licet diebus suis cupiditatibus & luxui nimis intemperanter indulgisse

*The continuator  
of the Chronicle  
of Croyland  
in the Part of  
the History  
was a Doctor  
of the canon  
Law, & was  
employed by  
Edward in an  
ambassy to the  
Duke of Burgundy*

*\* Buck  
P549*

"but it was not necessary to load the Memory of Richard the 3<sup>d</sup>, who had left no Offspring" so from whom we are now particularly speaking. What then induced Hall to include him in this accusation but Persuasion of his guilt? The Reasoning is curious, Henry the 3<sup>d</sup> was jealous of Clarence's Posterity, but had no occasion to take any thought of Richard who died without Offspring, & this jealousy Account for Hall charging the Duke of Clarence as well as the Duke of



“ credatur, in fide tamen catholicus summè, hereticorum  
 “ severissimus hostis, sapientium & doctorum hominum  
 “ clericorumque promotor amantissimus, sacramentorum  
 “ ecclesiæ devotissimus venerator, peccatorumque suorum  
 “ omnium pænitentissimus fuit.” That monster Philip  
 the Second possessed just the same virtues. Still, I say, let  
 the monk suspect whom he would, if Henry was found dead,  
 the monk was not likely to know who murdered him—  
 and if he did, he has not told us.

Hall says, “ Poore kyng Henry the Sixte, a little before  
 “ deprived of hys realme and imperial croune, was now  
 “ in the Tower of London spoyled of his life and all  
 “ wordly felicity by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the  
 “ constant fame ranne) which, to thintent that king Ed-  
 “ ward his brother should be clere out of al secret suspicyon  
 “ of sudder invasion, murthered the said king with a dag-  
 “ ger.” Whatever Richard was, it seems he was a most  
 excellent and kind-hearted brother, and scrupled not on any  
 occasion to be the Jack Ketch of the times. We shall see  
 him soon (if the evidence were to be believed) perform the  
 same friendly office for Edward on their brother Clarence.  
 And we must admire that he, whose dagger was so fleshed  
 in murder for the service of another, should be so put to it  
 to find the means of making away with his nephews, whose  
 deaths were considerably more essential to him. But can

*He slew with  
 his own hands  
 H. Henry the 6  
 being Prisoner  
 in the Tower,  
 as men constantly  
 said, & that with-  
 out form or man-  
 ner of knowledge  
 of the King, which  
 would undoubtedly  
 if he had intended  
 the thing have  
 appointed the  
 Butcherly Office  
 to some other  
 than his own  
 Brother. In  
 the More's Hist.  
 published in  
 More's Chronicle  
 Page 436.*

*Did  
 Gloucester with the Murder of Prince Edward  
 see Pb—  
 Henry  
 the  
 6th  
 was  
 killed  
 by  
 Richard  
 the 3rd*

this accusation be allowed gravely? If Richard aspired to the crown, whose whole conduct during Edward's reign was a scene, as we are told, of plausibility and decorum, would he officiously and unnecessarily have taken on himself the odium of slaying a saint-like monarch, adored by the people? Was it his interest to save Edward's character at the expence of his own? Did Henry stand in *his* way, deposed, imprisoned, and now *childless*? The blind and indiscriminate zeal with which every crime committed in that bloody age was placed to Richard's account, makes it greatly probable, that interest of party had more hand than truth in drawing his picture. Other cruelties, which I shall mention, and to which we know his motives, he certainly commanded; nor am I desirous to purge him where I find him guilty: but mob-stories or Lancastrian forgeries ought to be rejected from sober history; nor can they be repeated, without exposing the writer to the imputation of weakness and vulgar credulity.

### III. The murder of his brother Clarence.

In the examination of this article, I shall set aside our historians (whose gossiping narratives, as we have seen, deserve little regard) because we have better authority to direct our inquiries: and this is, the attainder of the duke of

*See the question  
of Clarence's  
Innocence  
Nov. 1785*

*What historians does he set aside? He says Clarence,  
Clarence was attainted, & proves it from the Parliamentary  
History. This very attainder he acknowledges to be taken  
from How, & to be copied from <sup>474</sup> Harington: This mentioned  
by the Chronicle of Freyland <sup>562</sup> is set forth <sup>623</sup> by Rapin, & is  
not forgotten by his friend Burke. All these related that Clarence*



was attained, & M. W. at the Instant of saying the same thing, <sup>only then</sup> ~~side~~ calls them Gospels, & proceeds in <sup>their</sup> Authority, ~~which he has adopted~~ <sup>the simplicity of that</sup> ~~which he has adopted~~. "Hall, Hollingshed & Stow say not a Word of Richard being the Person who put the Sentence in Execution" Neither do the Annals of Habington or Rapin & [Baker] <sup>intirely</sup> acquit him of it. M.

W. then not satis- Clarence, as it is set forth in the Parliamentary History (copied indeed from Habington's Life of Edward the Fourth) and by the editors of that history justly supposed to be taken from Stowe, who had seen the original bill of attainder. The crimes and conspiracy of Clarence are there particularly enumerated, and even his dealing with conjurers and necromancers, a charge however absurd, yet often made use of in that age. Eleanor Cobham, wife of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, had been condemned on a parallel accusation. In France it was a common charge; and I think, so late as in the reign of Henry the Eighth, Edward duke of Buckingham was said to have consulted astrologers and such like cattle, on the succession of the crown. Whether Clarence was guilty we cannot easily tell; for in those times neither the public nor the prisoner were often favoured with knowing the evidence on which sentence was passed. Nor was much information of that sort given to or asked by parliament itself, previous to bills of attainder. The duke of Clarence appears to have been at once a weak, volatile, injudicious, and ambitious man. He had abandoned his brother Edward, had espoused the daughter of Warwick, the great enemy of their house, and had even been declared successor to Henry the Sixth and his son prince Edward. Conduct so absurd must have left lasting impressions on Edward's mind, not to be effaced by Clarence's

This Bill of Attainder passed on the 17. of Edw: 4. - six men - tried by Burke Comp. Hist. Eng. Vol. 1. p. 350

The principal Crime with, which he is there accused is his having published a Report of his Brother's Bestardy & consequent ~~there~~ <sup>himself</sup> as the Rightful Sovereign - This made a part of Clarence's bill of Attainder; but there is no proof of this fact, & M. W. him- self doubts of his guilt -

"He persuaded Clarence to be sensible of the King's <sup>subsequent</sup> ~~Highness~~ <sup>whispered in</sup> the King's Ear the Danger of Clarence's Spirit" says Habington Chy. adding that he did this not from any particular Ground of Malice, but that he hated any man, especially a Brother, should have the Start of him in Fortune. If he was not his Murderer then he stands ~~there~~ in no less a Degree of Guilt in the Eye of Conscience <sup>"to smooth the Way to his Ambition"</sup> since he who could use Arguments with a Brother persuasive of a Brother's Death is as deep in his Blood as if his Knife had drawn it. M. W.

Public Knowledge (see below) either to invite applause, or to repel  
censure, to raise one's own or ruin another's credit; Or in other  
Instances, Conscience <sup>impatient of its Burden</sup> ~~unable to bear the burden~~ <sup>its Trust</sup> ~~breaks forth & casts them out~~ & reveals what else had been  
hid in tenfold obscurity [12]

Think! Habington's subsequent treachery to Henry and Warwick. The Chro-  
nicle of Croyland mentions the ill-humour and discontents  
of Clarence; and all our authors agree, that he kept no  
all others; & yet terms with the queen and her relations\*. Habington adds,  
he thinks he could that these discontents were secretly fomented by the duke of  
not have known Gloucester. Perhaps they were: Gloucester certainly kept  
it. For, says he, fair with the queen, and profited largely by the forfeiture  
where jealousies of his brother. But where jealousies are secretly fomented  
are secretly in

fomented in a  
fact they seldom  
come to an  
Historian's  
Knowledge")  
But why may  
he not such  
jealousies are  
not likely to remain  
forever secret,  
no more than  
Mysteries of State  
inhabited of  
Countess (the  
Countess of Warwick)  
in Darknes

\* That chronicle, which now-and-then, though seldom, is circumstan-  
tial, gives a curious account of the marriage of Richard duke of Gloucester  
and Anne Nevil, which I have found in no other author; and which seems to  
tax the envy and rapaciousness of Clarence as the causes of the dissention be-  
tween the brothers. This account, and from a cotemporary, is the more  
remarkable, as the Lady Anne is positively said to have been only betrothed to  
Edward prince of Wales, son of Henry the Sixth, and not his widow, as  
she is carelessly called by all our historians, and represented in Shakespeare's  
masterly scene. "Postquam filius regis Henrici, cui Domina Anna, minor  
"filia comitis Warwici, desponsata fuit, in prefato bello de Tewksbury oc-  
"cubuit," Richard duke of Gloucester desired her for his wife. Clarence,  
who had married the elder sister, was unwilling to share so rich an inheritance  
with his brother, and concealed the young lady. Gloucester was too alert  
for him, and discovered the Lady Anne in the dress of a cookmaid in London,  
and removed her to the sanctuary of St. Martin. The brothers pleaded each  
his cause in person before their elder brother in council; and every man,  
says the author, admired the strength of their respective arguments. The  
king composed their differences, bestowed the maiden on Gloucester, and  
parted the estate between him and Clarence; the countess of Warwick, mo-  
ther of the heiresses, and who had brought that vast wealth to the house of

rise up & discover themselves to Public Knowledge; <sup>as do Nevil</sup> ~~and do~~ to the present  
Matter, whether it be called a gratis dicta insinuation or a good  
Guess, that it was in a great measure true must be concluded  
from Edward's Words <sup>then</sup> ~~when he was solicited to person~~ <sup>offered</sup> ~~to person~~  
~~off a Criminal~~ ~~another Clarence's Convention~~ ~~are the Contents of his Death~~  
"Unhappy Brother for whom no Man would intercede!"



in a court, they seldom come to the knowledge of an historian; and though he may have guessed right from collateral circumstances, these insinuations are mere *gratis dicta*, and can only be treated as surmises †. Hall, Hollinghed, and Stowe say not a word of Richard being the person who put the sentence in execution; but, on the contrary, they all say he openly resisted the murder of Clarence: all too record another circumstance, which is perfectly ridiculous, that Clarence was drowned in a barrel or butt of malmsey. Whoever can believe that a butt of wine was the engine of his death, may believe that Richard helped him into it, and

Nevil, remaining the only sufferer, being reduced to a state of absolute necessity, as appears from Dugdale. In such times, under such despotic dispensations, the greatest crimes were only consequences of the oeconomy of government. —Note, that Sir Richard Baker is so absurd as to make Richard espouse the Lady Anne after his accession, though he had a son by her ten years old at that time.

† The chronicle above quoted asserts, that the speaker of the house of commons demanded the execution of Clarence. Is it credible that, on a proceeding so public and so solemn for that age, the brother of the offended monarch and of the royal criminal should have been deputed, or would have stooped to so vile an office? On such occasions do arbitrary princes want tools? Was Edward's court so virtuous or so humane, that it could furnish no assassin but the first prince of the blood? When the house of commons undertook to colour the king's resentment, was every member of it too scrupulous to lend his hand to the deed?

We have here Edward's Positive Word for it that <sup>kept</sup> Richard did not intercede for Clarence. He wished not then to save him — a little knowledge of his character will be sufficient to complete the authority; so make us believe that he wished & contrived his Death — Especially, as Interest & Ambition concurred to urge him to it. He professed largely by Clarence's forfeiture <sup>in the Tower</sup> <sup>being dead</sup> the prospect of the crown was full before him for betwixt his

kept him down till he was suffocated. But the strong evidence on which Richard must be acquitted, and indeed even of having contributed to his death, was the testimony of Edward himself. Being some time afterward solicited to pardon a notorious criminal, the king's conscience broke forth; "Unhappy brother!" cried he, "for whom no man would interceed—yet ye all can be intercessors for a villain!" If Richard had been instigator or executioner, it is not likely that the king would have assumed the whole merciless criminality to himself, without bestowing a due share on his brother Gloucester. Is it possible to renew the charge, and not recollect this acquittal! +

The three preceding accusations are evidently uncertain and improbable. What follows is more obscure; and it is on the ensuing transactions that I venture to pronounce, that we have little or no authority on which to form positive conclusions. I speak more particularly of the deaths of Edward the Fifth and his brother. It will, I think, appear very problematic whether they were murdered or not: and even if they were murdered, it is impossible to believe the account as fabricated and divulged by Henry the Seventh, on whose testimony the murder must rest at last; for they, who speak most positively, revert to the story which he was pleased to publish eleven years after their sup-

*In this Apostrophe  
Edward speaking  
to discharge himself  
of a part of the  
load of Clarence's  
Blood, he calls  
out, "Unhappy  
Brother! Ye  
that with me  
were assuming  
the whole  
criminality to  
Himself, &  
not content  
with this Persecution  
of Language  
you are now  
in the same  
Breath he calls  
this Speech of Edward  
a charge against Richard  
& makes it to his Acquittal.*

*— & it, there stood only Edward Infirm & Sickly, & his Sons  
in their Minority, which*



posed deaths, and which is so absurd, so incoherent, and so repugnant to dates and other facts, that as it is no longer necessary to pay court to his majesty, it is no longer necessary not to treat his assertions as an impudent fiction. I come directly to this point, because the intervening articles of the executions of Rivers, Gray, Vaughan, and Hastings will naturally find their place in that disquisition.

And here it will be important to examine those historians on whose relation the story first depends. Previous to this I must ascertain one or two dates, for they are stubborn evidence and cannot be rejected : they exist every where, and cannot be proscribed even from a Court Calendar.

Edward the Fourth died April 9th 1483.

Edward, his eldest son, was then thirteen years of age.

Richard, duke of York, his second son, was about nine.

We have but two cotemporary historians, the author of the Chronicle of Croyland, and John Fabian. The first, who wrote in his convent, and only mentioned incidentally affairs of state, is very barren and concise : he appears indeed not to have been ill informed, and sometimes even in a situation of personally knowing the transactions of the times ; for in one place we are told in a marginal note, that

Not to Calais, *nempe non dum ad obediendum Regis redacta erat* as  
the Chronicle in that Place says, but he was sent by Edward the 4<sup>th</sup> to  
the D. of Burgundy then at Abbeville; who had made overtures of  
a truce alliance with Edward against France & his Doctor of

the Canon Law  
was sent to him  
on this Occasion,  
to <sup>send</sup> his Inter-  
tions, & Report  
them to the  
King. 1557

that the doctor of the canon law, and one of the king's  
councillors, who was sent to Calais, was the author of the  
Continuation. Whenever therefore his assertions are posi-  
tive, and not merely flying reports, he ought to be admitted  
as fair evidence, since we have no better. And yet a monk  
who busies himself in recording the insignificant events of  
his own order or monastery, and who was at most occa-  
sionally made use of, was not likely to know the most im-  
portant and most mysterious secrets of state; I mean, as he  
was not employed in those iniquitous transactions—if he had  
been, we should learn or might expect still less truth from  
him.

This Monk  
three lines  
above appear  
to have been  
a Doctor of  
the Canon  
Law, & King's  
Counsellor,  
probably  
therefore not  
in Monk's

This Chronicle  
was first published  
in 1516, 4 years  
after his Death  
See the Biog. Brit.  
In 1494 See  
his own Chronicle

John Fabian was a merchant, and had been sheriff of  
London, and died in 1512: he consequently lived on the  
spot at that very interesting period. Yet no sheriff was ever  
less qualified to write a history of England. His narrative is  
dry, uncircumstantial, and unimportant: he mentions the  
deaths of princes and revolutions of government, with the  
same phlegm and brevity as he would speak of the appoint-  
ment of churchwardens. I say not this from any partiality,  
or to decry the simple man as crossing my opinion; for Fa-  
bian's testimony is far from bearing hard against Richard;  
even though he wrote under Henry the Seventh, who would  
have suffered no apology for his rival, and whose reign was

Orders; but  
however that  
he, he was sure  
to make a bad  
Historian -  
Since not being  
employed in  
the most secret  
Affairs of State  
he could know  
little of Truth  
employed

if he had been  
so employed, he  
would have a  
bold life

From whom then are  
we to expect History  
Since neither those  
who are not employed  
in the Affairs of State  
nor those who are





*H. W. W. had* Sir Thomas More was born in 1480: he was appointed under-  
*sheriff in 1508, and three years before had offended Henry*  
*the Seventh in the tender point of opposing a subsidy.*  
*Buck, the apologist of Richard the Third, ascribes the au-*  
*thorities of Sir Thomas to the information of archbishop*  
*Morton; and it is true that he had been brought up under*  
*that prelate; but Morton died in 1500, when Sir Thomas*  
*was but twenty years old, and when he had scarce thought*  
*of writing history. What materials he had gathered from*  
*his master were probably nothing more than a general nar-*  
*rative of the preceding times in discourse at dinner or in a*  
*winter's evening, if so raw a youth can be supposed to have been*  
*admitted to familiarity with a prelate of that rank and prime*  
*minister. But granting that such pregnant parts as More's*  
*had leaped the barrier of dignity, and insinuated himself into*  
*the archbishop's favour; could he have drawn from a more*  
*corrupted source? Morton had not only violated his alle-*  
*giance to Richard; but had been the chief engine to de-*  
*throned him, and to plant a bastard scion in the throne. Of*  
*all men living there could not be more suspicious testimony*  
*than the prelate's, except the king's: and had the arch-*  
*bishop selected More for the historian of those dark scenes,*  
*who had so much interest to blacken Richard, as the man*  
*who had risen to be prime minister to his rival? Take it*  
*therefore either way; that the archbishop did or did not*  
*pitch*  
*from what S. Tho. must have received better Information*

*This Book, Buck says in a Marginal Note, was in the*  
*possession of S. Tho. his son in Law, a lawyer,*  
*and his Hist. Eng. Vol. 1. p. 546—*



pitch on a young man of twenty to write that history, his authority was as suspicious as could be.

It may be said, on the other hand, that Sir Thomas, who had smarted for his boldness (for his father, a judge of the king's bench, had been imprisoned and fined for his son's offence) had had little inducement to flatter the Lancastrian cause. It is very true; nor am I inclined to impute adulation to one of the honestest statesmen and brightest names in our annals. He who scorned to save his life by bending to the will of the son, was not likely to canvass the favour of the father, by prostituting his pen to the humour of the court. I take the truth to be, that Sir Thomas wrote his reign of Edward the Fifth as he wrote his Utopia; to amuse his leisure and exercise his fancy. He took up a paltry canvas and embroidered it with a flowing design as his imagination suggested the colours. I should deal more severely with his respected memory on any other hypothesis. He has been guilty of such palpable and material falsehoods, as, while they destroy his credit as an historian, would reproach his veracity as a man, if we could impute them to premeditated perversion of truth, and not to youthful levity and inaccuracy. Standing as they do, the sole ground-work of that reign's history, I am authorized to pronounce the work, invention and romance. ✓

*What! Before  
you have  
proved it  
such?*

Polidore Virgil, a foreigner, and author of a light Latin history, was here during the reigns of Henry the Seventh and Eighth. I may quote him now-and-then, and the Chronicle of Croyland ; but neither furnish us with much light.

There was another foreign writer in that age of far greater authority, whose negligent simplicity and veracity are unquestionable ; who had great opportunities of knowing our story, and whose testimony is corroborated by our records : I mean Philip de Comines. He and Buck agree with one another, and with the rolls of parliament ; Sir Thomas More with none of them.

Buck, so long exploded as a lover of paradoxes, and as an advocate for a monster, gains new credit the deeper this dark scene is fathomed. Undoubtedly Buck has gone too far ; nor are his style or method to be admired. With every intention of vindicating Richard, he does but authenticate his crimes, by searching in other story for parallel instances of what he calls policy. No doubt politicians will acquit Richard, if confession of his crimes be pleaded in defence of them. Policy will justify his taking off opponents. Policy will maintain him in removing those who would have barred his obtaining the crown, whether he thought he had a right



+ Dates - P<sup>4</sup> 15.23.

o Parliamentary Hist. P<sup>30</sup>

See The Coronation Roll of Rich<sup>d</sup> P<sup>65</sup>.

Also the Roll of Parliament <sup>21</sup> which he omits in the Enumeration of his Authorities ~~which he omits in the Enumeration of his Authorities~~ P<sup>43</sup>.

right to it, or was determined to obtain it. Morality, especially in the latter case, cannot take his part. I shall speak more to this immediately. Rapin conceived doubts; but instead of pursuing them, wandered after judgments; and they will lead a man where-ever he has a mind to be led. Carte, with more manly shrewdness, has sifted many parts of Richard's story, and guessed happily. My part has less penetration; but the parliamentary history, the comparison of dates, and the authentic monument lately come to light, and from which I shall give extracts, have convinced me, that, if Buck is too favourable, all our other historians are blind guides, and have not made out a twentieth part of their assertions.

For what other Purpose do other Men doubt? And has not Carte judged as Decisively as He?

The story of Edward the Fifth is thus related by Sir Thomas More, and copied from him by all our historians.

The Chronicle, after relating the Disputes in Council at Westminster, before the Queen relative to the Force, & the young Henry, should be brought from Ludlow to his Coronation, & the Parliament at Hastings took in the Debate who favored same

When the king his father died, the prince kept his court at Ludlow, under the tuition of his maternal uncle Anthony earl Rivers. Richard duke of Gloucester was in the north, returning from his successful expedition against the Scots. The queen wrote instantly to her brother to bring up the young king to London, with a train of two thousand horse: a fact allowed by historians, and which, whether a prudent caution or not, was the first overt-act of the new reign; and likely

*protestatur, quam spectare aduentum regis, si non venisset cum moderato numero, addo benignissima Regina copiosa omnium munerum & Turbationis tranquillam optinuerat, scribit filio suo ut in Veniendo Londoniam Numerum Duorum Milium Hominum non excedat. Placuit is numerus prefato Domino. Satis enim constabat sibi, ut videtur, quod*

likely to strike, as it did strike, the duke of Gloucester and the antient nobility with a jealousy, that the queen intended to exclude them from the administration, and to govern in concert with her own family. It is not improper to observe that no precedent authorized her to assume such power. Joan, princess dowager of Wales, and widow of the Black Prince, had no share in the government during the minority of her son Richard the Second. Catherine of Valois, widow of Henry the Fifth, was alike excluded from the regency, though her son was but a year old. And if Isabella governed on the deposition of Edward the Second, it was by an usurped power, by the same power that had contributed to dethrone her husband; a power sanctified by no title, and confirmed by no act of parliament\*. The first step to a female regency † enacted, though it never took place, was many years afterwards, in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Edward, on his death-bed, had patched up a reconciliation between his wife's kindred and the great lords of the

\* Twelve guardians were appointed by parliament, and the earl of Lancaster was entrusted with the care of the king's person. The latter, being excluded from exercising his charge by the queen and Mortimer, gave that as a reason for not obeying a summons to parliament. Vide Parliam. Hist. vol. i. p. 208. 215.

† Vide the act of succession in Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 127.

court ;

*Ducis Gloucestrie et Butynghamie, in quibus maxime confidebat,  
non minorem secum munusculum afferent. 1385*



court ; particularly between the marquis Dorset, the queen's son, and the lord chamberlain Hastings. Yet whether the disgusted lords had only seemed to yield, to satisfy the dying king, or whether the steps taken by the queen gave them new cause of umbrage, it appears that the duke of Buckingham was the first to communicate his suspicions to Gloucester, and to dedicate himself to his service. Lord Hastings was scarce less forward to join in like measures : and all three, it is pretended, were so alert, that they contrived to have it insinuated to the queen, that it would give much offence if the young king should be brought to London with so great a force as she had ordered ; on which suggestions she wrote to Lord Rivers to countermand her first directions.

It is difficult not to suspect, that our historians have imagined more plotting in this transaction than could easily be compassed in so short a period, and in an age when no communication could be carried on but by special messengers, in bad roads, and with no relays of post-horses.

Edward the Fourth died April 9th, and his son made his entrance into London \* May 4th. It is not probable, that

\* Fabian.

the queen communicated her directions for bringing up her son with an armed force to the lords of the council, and her newly reconciled enemies. But she might be betrayed. Still it required some time for Buckingham to send his servant Percival (though Sir Thomas More vaunts his expedition) to York, where the duke of Gloucester then lay †; for Percival's return (it must be observed too that the duke of Buckingham was in Wales, consequently did not learn the queen's orders on the spot, but either received the account from London, or learnt it from Ludlow); for the two dukes to send instructions to their confederates in London; for the impression to be made on the queen, and for her dispatching her counter-orders; for Percival to post back and meet Gloucester at Nottingham, and for returning thence and bringing his master Buckingham to meet Richard at Northampton, at the very time of the king's arrival there. All this might happen, undoubtedly; and yet who will believe, that such mysterious and rapid negotia-

† It should be remarked too, that the duke of Gloucester is positively said to be celebrating his brother's obsequies there. It not only strikes off part of the term by allowing the necessary time for the news of king Edward's death to reach York, and for the preparations to be made there to solemnize a funeral for him; but this very circumstance takes off from the probability of Richard having as yet laid any plan for dispossessing his nephew. Would he have loitered at York at such a crisis, if he had intended to step into the throne? †

*Did he loiter beyond the time with his affairs would admit of? tions*  
 certainly not: He intercepted the King on the Road, made the Earl Rivers & Prisoners, seized the King's Person. What could he have done more had he left York two Days sooner?



The Chronicle speaking of the earnest expectation of the young King's  
 coronation, after his Father's Funeral, says "Interca scribitur  
 Cloustrica ad consolationem Regina dulcissima: litteras, promittit  
 Aduentum, Obsequium, Fidei et omne debitum suum Regi et  
 Domino suo Edwardo quinto, Fratris sui defuncti Regis atque ipsius  
 Reginae principis.  
 By the same Reasoning he might compute the whole History with a single Question - Since he need only ask, Who will believe it? who has done the Business - As to Sir Thomas More's Ignorance of Material & Public Facts, the Charge is false - It relates to the Dowry of the Dowry with the Lady Butler, with the Deliveries of Shuffe out of the Wardrobe for his Son mentioned in Rich.<sup>d</sup> Coronation Roll, with he calls the public one - The former is mentioned at length in Sir Thomas More's Hist: published by Kennet <sup>taken from</sup> from the Latin; the latter it was needless to mention as will appear hereafter -

tions came to the knowledge of Sir Thomas More twenty-five years afterwards, when, as it will appear, he knew nothing of very material and public facts that happened at the same period?

But whether the circumstances are true, or whether artfully imagined, it is certain that the king, with a small force, arrived at Northampton, and thence proceeded to Stony Stratford. Earl Rivers remained at Northampton, where he was cajoled by the two dukes till the time of rest, when the gates of the inn were suddenly locked, and the earl made prisoner. Early in the morning the two dukes hastened to Stony Stratford, where, in the king's presence, they picked a quarrel with his other half-brother, the lord Richard Grey, accusing him, the marquis Dorset, and their uncle Rivers, of ambitious and hostile designs, to which ends the marquis had entered the Tower, taken treasure thence, and sent a force to sea.

"These things," says Sir Thomas, "the dukes knew were done for good and necessary purposes, and by appointment of the council; but somewhat they must say." As Sir Thomas has not been pleased to specify those purposes, and as in those times at least privy councillors were exceedingly complaisant to the ruling powers, he must allow us to doubt whether the purposes of the queen's relations were quite so innocent

*Eboracum cum  
 decem familia  
 singulis vesti  
 auguri indolis  
 solenne etque  
 lachrymis plenas  
 Regis equis  
 facit. Omnem  
 Nobilitatem  
 illarum partium  
 ad fidelitatem  
 filii Regis Sacra-  
 mentum rensting-  
 gens. Ipse  
 prior omnium  
 iurat. P. 565.*

nocent as he would make us believe; and whether the princes of the blood and the antient nobility had not some reason to be jealous that the queen was usurping more power than the laws had given her. The catastrophe of her whole family so truly deserves commiseration, that we are apt to shut our eyes to all her weakness and ill-judged policy; and yet at every step we find how much she contributed to draw ruin on their heads and her own, by the confession even of her apologists. The duke of Gloucester was the first prince of the blood, the constitution pointed him out as regent; no will, no disposition of the late king was even alledged to bar his pretensions; he had served the state with bravery, success, and fidelity; and the queen herself, who had been insulted by Clarence, had had no cause to complain of Gloucester. Yet all her conduct intimated designs of governing by force in the name of her son\*. If these facts

\* Grafton says, "and in effect every one as he was neereſt of kinne unto the queene, ſo was he planted nere about the prince," p. 761; and again, p. 762, "the duke of Gloucester understanding that the lordes, which were about the king, intended to bring him up to his coronation, accompanied with ſuch power of their friendes, that it ſhould be hard for him, to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, without gathering and aſſemble of people, and in manner of open war," &c. In the ſame place it appears, that the argument uſed to diſſuade the queen from employing force, was, that it would be a breach of the accommodation made by the late king between her relations and the great lords; and ſo undoubtedly it was; and though they are accuſed of violating the peace, it is plain that the queen's inſincerity had been at leaſt equal to theirs, and that the infringement of the reconciliation commenced on her ſide.

are

*copied from 1<sup>st</sup>  
 Geo. Mon 433  
 1<sup>st</sup> Geo. Mon 433*

*You & have  
 been, you  
 1<sup>st</sup> Geo. Mon 433  
 1<sup>st</sup> Geo. Mon 433*



It does not  
appear from  
Sir Thomas More  
that Buckingham  
was the tempter  
of Richard.  
He sent  
Percival to  
Richard at  
York with  
a message, that  
he would take  
such part as

he (Rich) would  
wait upon  
him with a  
thousand good  
fellows if he  
were. The message  
sent back with  
thanks & some  
secret instruc-  
tions of the  
Protector's mind.

P 462

are impartially stated, and grounded on the confession of those who enveigh most bitterly against Richard's memory, let us allow that at least *thus far* he acted as most princes would have done in his situation, in a lawless and barbarous age; and rather instigated by others, than from any before-conceived ambition and system. If the journeys of Percival are true, Buckingham was the devil that tempted Richard; and if Richard still wanted instigation, then it must follow, that he had not murdered Henry the Sixth, his son, and Clarence, to pave his own way to the crown. If this fine story of Buckingham and Percival is not true, what becomes of Sir Thomas More's credit, on which the whole fabric leans?

Lord Richard, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte, were arrested, and with lord Rivers sent prisoners to Pomfret, while the dukes conducted the king by easy stages to London.

The queen, hearing what had happened, took sanctuary at Westminster, with her other son the duke of York, and the princesses her daughters. Rotheram, archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, repaired to her with the great seal, and endeavoured to comfort her dismay with a friendly message he had received from Hastings, who was with the

E 2

confederate

The D. of Buck-  
ingham had  
probably no  
further thought  
than of getting  
the children into  
Richard's power  
& disclosing the  
Queen's relations  
for the purpose  
of his own pride.  
Perfection -  
Richard con-  
curred with him  
from purposes  
of ambition.  
Did not want  
Buckingham's  
advice for  
what he did  
see Howel's  
Chronicle P 467.  
P 462 -  
When Buckingham  
was so far  
engaged with  
Richard he  
found himself  
under a necessity  
of going on &  
after he had helped  
Richard to seize  
the young Prince, he  
was led at his usurpation.

*He is one of  
 them, were  
 the Queen's  
 Words. See the  
 Reign of Edward  
 the 5 & Richard  
 3<sup>d</sup>. In the complete  
 History of England  
 Page 435.  
 "Ah wo worth  
 him (quoth she)  
 For he is One  
 of them that  
 laboreth to  
 destroy me &  
 my blood."  
 S<sup>t</sup> Tho. More  
 in Stowe's  
 Chronicle  
 Page 440.*

confederate lords on the road. "A woe worth him!"  
 quoth the queen, "for *it is he* that goeth about to destroy  
 "me and my blood!" Not a word is said of her suspecting  
 the duke of Gloucester. The archbishop seems to have  
 been the first who entertained any suspicion; and yet,  
 if all that our historian says of him is true, Rotheram was  
 far from being a shrewd man: witness the indiscreet answer  
 which he is said to have made on this occasion. "Madam,"  
 quoth he, "be of good comfort, and assure you, if they  
 "crown any other king than your son whom they now have,  
 "we shall on the morrow crown his brother, whom you  
 "have here with you." Did the silly prelate think that it  
 would be much consolation to a mother, whose eldest son  
 might be murdered, that her younger son would be crowned  
 in prison! or was she to be satisfied with seeing one son en-  
 titled to the crown, and the other enjoying it nominally?

He then delivered the seal to the queen, and as lightly  
 sent for it back immediately after.

The dukes continued their march, declaring they were  
 bringing the king to his coronation. Hastings, who seems  
 to have preceded them, endeavoured to pacify the apprehen-  
 sions which had been raised in the people, acquainting  
 them that the arrested lords had been imprisoned for plotting  
 against



against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham. As both those princes were of the blood royal \*, this accusation was not ill founded, it having evidently been the intention, as I have shewn, to bar them from any share in the administration, to which, by the custom of the realm, they were intitled. So much depends on this foundation, that I shall be excused from enforcing it. The queen's party were the aggressors; and though that alone would not justify all the following excesses, yet we must not judge of those times by the present. Neither the crown nor the great men were restrained by sober established forms and proceedings as they are at present; and from the death of Edward the Third,

\* Henry duke of Buckingham was the immediate descendant and heir of Thomas of Woodstock duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward the Third, as will appear by this table:

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Thomas<br>duke of Gloucester.     |  |
|                                   |  |
| Anne ——— Edmund earl of Stafford. |  |
| sole dr. and heirs.               |  |
| Humphrey duke of Bucks.           |  |
|                                   |  |
| Humphrey lord Stafford.           |  |
|                                   |  |
| Henry duke of Bucks.              |  |

It is plain, that Buckingham was influenced by this nearness to the crown, for it made him overlook his own alliance with the queen, whose sister he had married. Henry the Eighth did not overlook the proximity of blood, when he afterwards put to death the son of this duke.

*On the Death  
of Edward the  
3<sup>d</sup>. The Queen sent  
Orders to her  
Brother the Earl  
of Gloucester, for raising  
a force for the bringing  
up of her son to the  
Coronation -  
Richard being  
unprepared, repaired  
to her by means  
of his adherents near  
the Queen, the  
impropriety of  
such a Proceeding  
& the appearance  
of distrust it  
carried with  
it prevailed on her  
to order the  
Licensing of the  
King's Guard  
give Richard an  
opportunity of  
seizing the King  
& the Government.  
This is what Mr.  
W. calls P. 39. being  
unwitted, and it  
may be so; but it  
requires her of being  
the aggressor in  
attempting to govern*

*by force - which is the charge on which Mr. W. defends  
Richard's future Proceedings, which in his  
Opinion leaves her without expense. Others would  
be inclined to lament her credulity, which brought  
instant Ruin on her affairs, & destruction on her  
Family. See Comp. Hist. Eng. Vol. 1 P. 483  
So that More says, that the Queen bewailing the Misfortunes  
of her Family, & damning the Time that ever she disquitted the*

force alone had dictated. Henry the Fourth had stepped into the throne contrary to all justice. A title so defective had opened a door to attempts as violent; and the various innovations introduced in the latter years of Henry the Sixth had annihilated all ideas of order. Richard duke of York had been declared successor to the crown during the life of Henry and of his son prince Edward, and, as appears by the Parliamentary History, though not noticed by our careless historians, was even appointed prince of Wales. The duke of Clarence had received much such another declaration in his favour during the short restoration of Henry. What temptations were these precedents to an affronted prince! We shall see soon what encouragement they gave him to examine closely into his nephew's pretensions; and how imprudent it was in the queen to provoke Gloucester, when her very existence as queen was liable to strong objections. Nor ought the subsequent executions of Lord Rivers, Lord Richard Grey, and of Lord Hastings himself, to be considered in so very strong a light, as they would appear in, if acted in modern times. During the wars of York and Lancaster, no forms of trial had been observed. Not only peers taken in battle had been put to death without process; but whoever, though not in arms, was made prisoner by the victorious party, underwent the same fate; as was the case of Tiptoft earl of Worcester, who had fled

and

= gathering of Power about the King gathered self in all haste possible with her younger Son & her Daughters, out of the Palace of Westminster, in which she then lay, into the Sanctuary, lodging herself & her company there in the Abbots Place. S. Tho. More in Howe's person. P. 1400.

Escaping Barker  
not noticed by

main

you

4. 11. 1494

See comp. Hist. & Supp.

Vol. 1 P. 538. 1494



and was taken in disguise. Trials had never been used with any degree of strictness, as at present ; and though Richard was pursued and killed as an usurper, the Solomon that succeeded him, was not a jot less a tyrant. Henry the Eighth was still less of a temper to give greater latitude to the laws. In fact, little ceremony or judicial proceeding was observed on trials, till the reign of Elizabeth, who, though decried of late for her despotism, in order to give some shadow of countenance to the tyranny of the Stuarts, was the first of our princes, under whom any gravity or equity was allowed in cases of treason. To judge impartially therefore, we ought to recall the temper and manners of the times we read of. It is shocking to eat our enemies ; but it is not so shocking in an Iroquois, as it would be in the king of Prussia. And this is all I contend for, that the crimes of Richard, which he really committed, at least which we have reason to believe he committed, were more the crimes of the age than of the man ; and except these executions of Rivers, Grey, and Hastings, I defy any body to prove one other of those charged to his account, from any good authority.

It is alledged that the partizans of Gloucester strictly guarded the sanctuary, to prevent farther resort thither ; but Sir Thomas confesses too, that *divers lords, knights, and gentlemen, either for favour of the queen, or for fear of themselves,*

These words omitted by Mr W. immediately follow, "Many also for that they reckoned this I mean nor attempt not so specially against the other Lords as against the King himself in the Disturbance of his coronation" we plainly shew, that it was not merely the Queen's Party that took up arms by but the King's also;

selves, assembled companies, and went flocking together in harnes. Let us strip this paragraph of its historic buskins, and it is plain that the queen's party took up arms \*. This is no indifferent circumstance. She had plotted to keep possession of the king, and to govern in his name by force, but had been outwitted, and her family had been imprisoned for the attempt. Conscious that she was discovered, perhaps reasonably alarmed at Gloucester's designs, she had secured herself and her younger children in sanctuary. Necessity rather than law justified her proceedings,—but what excuse can be made for her faction having recourse to arms? who was authorized, by the tenour of former reigns, to guard the king's person, till parliament should declare a regency, but his uncle and the princes of the blood? endeavouring to establish the queen's authority by force was rebellion against the laws. I state this minutely, because the fact has never been attended to; and later historians pass it over, as if Richard had hurried on the deposition of his nephews without any colour of decency, and without the least provocation to any of his proceedings. Hastings is even said to have warned the citizens that matters were likely to come to a field (to a battle) from the opposition of the adverse party, though as yet no symptom had appeared of designs against the king, whom the two dukes were bringing to his coronation. Nay, it is

\* This is confirmed by the chronicle of Croyland, p. 566.

What Interpretation was put on the seizure of the King's River, &c. is seen from the not opposite Note.

with how much Reason they did it the sequel of the History sufficiently evinces — see P. the. More in Hume's Chronicle Page 440



not probable that Gloucester had as yet meditated more than securing the regency ; for had he had designs on the crown, would he have weakened his own claim by assuming the protectorate, which he could not accept but by acknowledging the title of his nephew ? This in truth seems to me to have been the case. The ambition of the queen and her family alarmed the princes and the nobility : Gloucester, Buckingham, Hastings, and many more had checked those attempts. The next step was to secure the regency : but none of these acts could be done without grievous provocation to the queen. As soon as her son should come of age, she might regain her power and the means of revenge. Self-security prompted the princes and lords to guard against this reverse, and what was equally dangerous to the queen, the depression of her fortune called forth and revived all the hatred of her enemies. Her marriage had given universal offence to the nobility, and been the source of all the late disturbances and bloodshed. The great earl of Warwick, provoked at the contempt shewn to him by king Edward while negotiating a match for him in France, had abandoned him for Henry the Sixth, whom he had again set on the throne. These calamities were still fresh in every mind, and no doubt contributed to raise Gloucester to the throne, which he could not have attained without almost general concurrence : yet if we are to believe historians, he, Buckingham, the mayor of London, and one Dr. Shaw,

F

operated

*By assuming this Power was he not enabled to usurp the higher Power to which he aspired ? And what concern can we suppose in Gloucester for the strength or weakness of his title, if he could but get it acknowledged ? How could he abstain from an act which was to secure the crown to him because it indicated he had no right to it ?*

*Where are the 500000*

*mustered in Salisbury Field ? These have no place in this Catalogue —*

operated this revolution by a sermon and a speech to the people, though the people would not even give a huzza to the proposal. The change of government in the Rehearsal is not effected more easily by the physician and gentleman usher,

Do you take this, and I'll seize t'other chair.

In what manner Richard assumed or was invested with the protectorate does not appear. Sir Thomas More, speaking of him by that title, says, "the protector which always you must take for the duke of Gloucester," Fabian after mentioning the solemn \* arrival of the king in London, adds, "Than provisyon was made for the kinge's coronation ; in which pastime (interval) the duke being admitted for lord protectour." As the parliament was not fitting, this dignity was no doubt conferred on him by the assent of the lords and privy council ; and as we hear of no opposition, none was probably made. He was the only person to whom that rank was due ; his right could not and does not seem to have been questioned. The Chronicle of Croyland

\* He was probably eye-witness of that ceremony ; for he says, "the king was of the major and his citizens met at Harnesey parke, the maier and his brethren being clothed in scarlet, and the citizens in violet, to the number of V. C. horses, and than from thence conveyed unto the citie, the king beyng in blew velvet, and all his lords and servauntes in blake cloth," p. 513.

corroborates



corroborates my opinion, saying, "Accepitque dictus Ric-  
 "cardus dux Glocestriæ illum solennem magistratum, qui  
 "duci Humfrido Glocestriæ, stante minore ætate regis Hen-  
 "rici, ut regni protector appellaretur, olim contingebat.  
 "Eâ igitur auctoritate usus est, de consensu & beneplacito  
 "omnium dominorum," p. 556.

*acquiescence to the Young King, was to send him to the Tower, the next  
 to make Richard his Protector. Chronicle Croyland 556*

Thus far therefore it must be allowed that Richard acted  
 no illegal part, nor discovered more ambition than became  
 him. He had defeated the queen's innovations, and secured  
 her accomplices. To draw off our attention from such re-  
 gular steps, Sir Thomas More has exhausted all his eloquence  
 and imagination to work up a piteous scene, in which the  
 queen is made to excite our compassion in the highest degree,  
 and is furnished by that able pen with strains of pathetic ora-  
 tory, which no part of her conduct affords us reason to be-  
 lieve she possessed. This scene is occasioned by the demand  
 of delivering up her second son. Cardinal Bouchier arch-  
 bishop of Canterbury is the instrument employed by the pro-  
 tector to effect this purpose. The fact is confirmed by Fa-  
 bian in his rude and brief manner, and by the Chronicle of  
 Croyland, and therefore cannot be disputed. But though  
 the latter author affirms, that force was used to oblige the  
 cardinal to take that step, he by no means agrees with Sir

*Not the Lord  
 assembled in  
 Parliament, but  
 those whom he  
 had called to his  
 Council at the  
 Bishop of*

*London's Palace  
 whose first act  
 after they had taken  
 the oath of alle-*

*giance to the Young King, was to send him to the Tower, the next  
 to make Richard his Protector. Chronicle Croyland 556*

*Mr. More & have  
 done well to have  
 given a sample  
 of these pathetic  
 strains, which  
 supposes so  
 much about the  
 Queen's genius  
 or Natural  
 affection - they  
 are such as  
 others might  
 have thought  
 she might well*

*have uttered  
 Comp. Hist. of Eng.  
 Vol. 1 p. 191*

The Queen's address to her <sup>F</sup> Son on this occasion as set down in Mr. Tho. More (see Stowe's Chronicle Ph 46) is what follows. "T farewell mine own sweet son, God send you good keeping: Let me kiss you yet once ere you go; for God knoweth when we shall kiss together again. And therewith she kissed him & blessed him, turned her back & wept & went her way, leaving the King weeping as fast."

Here Richard did the King Homage acknowledging him his right Sovereign, in the face of the Nobility & Citizens of London. Thomas More in the repugnance of the queen to comply, nor in that idle discussion on the privileges of sanctuaries, on which Sir Thomas has wasted so many words. On the contrary, the chronicle declares, that the queen "Verbis gratanter annuens, dimisit puerum." The king, who had been lodged in the palace of the bishop of London, was now removed with his brother to the Tower.

This last circumstance has not a little contributed to raise the horror in vulgar minds, who of late years have been accustomed to see no persons of rank lodged in the Tower but state criminals. But in that age the case was widely different. It not only appears by a map engraven so late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, that the Tower was a royal palace, in which were ranges of buildings called the king's and queen's apartments, now demolished; but it is a known fact, that they did often lodge there, especially previous to their coronations. The queen of Henry the Seventh lay in there: queen Elizabeth went thither after her triumphant entry into the city; and many other instances might be produced, but for brevity I omit them, to come to one of the principal transactions of this dark period: I mean Richard's assumption of the crown. Sir Thomas More's account of this extraordinary event is totally improbable, and positively false

*of London as he had before done to the People while he conducted the young Prince thro' the Streets of London bare-headed, & crying out Behold your Prince & your Sovereign Henry the Sixth.*  
*St. More & Buck Comp's Hist. Page 186 & 183 & Chron. Croylan 566.*

*o nomine  
 Duce Buckyn.  
 phamie. Tun  
 Londoniarum:  
 In ejus sententia  
 him ab omni-  
 bus chancie  
 & Nobilibus  
 verbis itum  
 est. Chronicle  
 Croylan 566*

The passage which next follows in the Chronicle; but is not so much to Mr. W. purpose is

*At eo die ambo isti Duces (Glocester & Buckingham)  
 non clanculo sed palam sub Proposita ostendebantur.  
 Nam vocatis ab Aquilone, Wallia & ceteris quibusvis Partibus  
 sal eorum Potestate et Potestate constitutis hominibus  
 armatis in numero terribili et inaudito, Dietum*

*Acc  
 Jan  
 ven  
 the*



in the ground-work of that revolution. He tells us, that Richard meditating usurpation, divided the lords into two separate councils, assembling the king's or queen's party at Baynard's castle, but holding his own private junto at Crosby Place. From the latter he began with spreading murmurs, whispers, and reports against the legality of the late king's marriage.—Thus far we may credit him—but what man of common sense can believe, that Richard went so far as publicly to asperse the honour of his own mother? That mother, Cecily duchess dowager of York, a princess of a spotless character, was then living: so were two of her daughters, the duchesses of Suffolk and Burgundy, Richard's own sisters: one of them, the duchess of Suffolk walked at his ensuing coronation, and her son the earl of Lincoln was by Richard himself, after the death of his own son, declared heir apparent to the crown. Is it, can it be credible, that Richard actuated a venal \* preacher to declare to the people from the pulpit at Paul's cross, that his mother had been an

*Book 550*

\* What should we think of a modern historian, who should sink all mention of the convention parliament, and only tell us that one Dr. Burnet got up into the pulpit, and assured the people that Henrietta Maria (a little more suspected of gallantry than duchess Cecily) produced Charles the Second and James the Second in adultery, and gave no legitimate issue to Charles the First, but Mary princess of Orange, mother of king William; that the people laughed at him, and so the prince of Orange became king?

*Richardus Protector, Vicesimo Septo Die prefati missis adulteris,  
Janii Regimenis Regni sub Titulo Regii nominis sibi  
vindicauit seque eodem die apud magnam aulam  
Monasterii in falcidram marmoream ibi intusit.*

adulterers, and that her two eldest sons †, Edward the Fourth and the duke of Clarence ‡ were spurious; and that the good lady had not given a legitimate child to her husband, but the protector, and I suppose the duchess of Suffolk, though no mention is said to be made of her in the sermon? For as the duchess of Suffolk was older than Richard, and consequently would have been involved in the charge of bastardy, could he have declared her son his heir, he who set aside his brother Edward's children for their illegitimacy? Ladies of the least disputable gallantry generally suffer their husbands to beget his heir; and if doubts arise on the legitimacy of their issue, the younger branches seem most liable to suspicion—but a tale so gross could not have passed even on the mob—no proof, no presumption of the fact was pretended. Were the || duchess and her daughters silent on so scandalous

† The Earl of Rutland, another son, elder than Richard, had been murdered at the battle of Wakefield, and so was omitted in that imaginary accusation.

‡ Clarence is the first who is said to have propagated this slander, and it was much more consonant to his levity and indigested politics, than to the good sense of Richard. Who can believe that Richard renewed this story, especially as he must have altered the dates of his mother's amours, and made them continue to her conception of him, as Clarence had made them stop in his own favour?

|| It appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*, that the very first act of Richard's reign is dated from *quadam alterâ camerâ juxta capellam in hospitio dominæ Cecilie*



\* M. W. is not  
satisfied with  
the English  
historians  
Tacitus's Latin  
has the same  
fate. In the  
passage quoted  
from him, the  
Empress enquires  
of certain courtiers  
into the fate of her  
son, was told,  
"Hic ut imperator  
matrem occidit."  
Ovidius dicit  
"Imperet," replied  
the Empress, &  
speech of much  
more force, than  
that with M. W. has  
put into his mouth.  
It being better adapted  
to her purpose, in this  
instance at least  
we might have hoped  
to have found him  
honest in his Quotation.

scandalous an insinuation? Agrippina would scarce have heard it with patience. \* Moriar modo imperet! said that empress, in her wild wish of crowning her son: but had he, unprovoked, aspersed her honour in the open forum, would the mother have submitted to so unnatural an insult? In Richard's case the imputation was beyond measure atrocious and absurd. What! taint the fame of his mother to pave his way to the crown! Who had heard of her guilt? And if guilty, how came she to stop the career of her intrigues? But Richard had better pretensions, and had no occasion to start doubts even on his own legitimacy, which was too much

lia ducisse Eborum. It does not look much as if he had publicly accused his mother of adultery, when he held his first council at her house. Among the Harleian MSS. in the Museum, No. 2236. art. 6. is the following letter from Richard to this very princess his mother, which is an additional proof of the good terms on which they lived: "Madam, I recomaunde me to you as hartely as is to me possible, beseeching you in my most humble and affectionate wife of your daly blessing to my synguler comfort and defence in my nede; and, madam, I hertely beseeche you, that I may often here from you to my comfort; and suche newes as be here, my servaunt Thomas Bryan this berer shall showe you, to whome please it you to yeve credence unto. And, madam, I beseeche you to be good and graciouse lady to my lord my chamberlayn to be your officer in Wiltshire in suche as Colinbourne had: I trust he shall therein do you good servyce; and that it please you, that by this letter I may understande your pleasur in this behalve. And I praye God sende you th'accomplishment of your noble desires. Written at Pountfreit, the thirde day of Juyn, with the hande of your most humble son,

"Ricardus Rex."

connected

& She probably  
would, if it were  
have aspired her  
purpose of making  
her son an Emperor.  
Since it is but  
charity to think  
she would have  
preferred that  
method to the  
poisoning of her  
husband - But  
what is this to our  
present business?  
Our Enquiry is  
not whether she  
said to be  
aspersions cast on  
the Justice of  
York's deathly  
were born with  
Patience, but  
whether her Justice  
was ever aspersed.

\* In puellaribus annis stuprum cum Lepido

spe Dominationis admiserat. Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. 2.

connected with that of his brothers to be tossed and bandied about before the multitude. Clarence had been solemnly attainted by act of parliament, and his children were out of the question. The doubts on the validity of Edward's marriage were better grounds for Richard's proceedings than aspersions of his mother's honour. On that invalidity he claimed the crown, and obtained it; and with such universal concurrence, that the nation undoubtedly was on his side—but as he could not deprive his nephews, on that foundation, without bastardizing their sisters too, no wonder the historians, who wrote under the Lancastrian domination, have used all their art and industry to misrepresent the fact. If the marriage of Edward the Fourth with the widow Grey was bigamy, and consequently null, what became of the title of Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry the Seventh? What became of it? Why a bastard branch of Lancaster, matched with a bastard of York, were obtruded on the nation as the right heirs of the crown; and, as far as two negatives can make an affirmative, they were so.

Buck, whose integrity will more and more appear, affirms that, before Edward had espoused the lady Grey, he had been contracted to the lady Eleanor Butler, and married to her by the bishop of Bath. Sir Thomas More, on the contrary (and here it is that I am unwillingly obliged to charge

that

It happily was not so -

Dr. Shaw

preached it to the People

but there were none silly enough to

believe it

W. W. himself does not believe it, tho' he will

oppose this second Negative

that

his affirmation

the true

Marriage

as by Election & coronation -

The Chronicle speaking of the Confirmation of his Title by act of Parliament

Says, "Lajus hanc (tituli) diffinitionem cum de iustis Matrimonii dis-

putatur, curia illa licet facere non potuit, et tamen propter ingentem in constanti primos

creatum actum facere praesumpsit. It fecit. But this act as cited by Buck 528 takes no

Notice of the Title descending to Richard by the true

Validity of Edward's Marriage; but declares him the true

undoubted King by right of his sanguinity & Marriage

as by Election & coronation -



that great man with wilful falshood) pretends that the duchess of York, his mother, endeavouring to dissuade him from so disproportionate an alliance, urged him with a pre-contract to one Elizabeth Lucy, who however, being pressed, confessed herself his concubine; but denied any marriage. Dr. Shaw too, the preacher, we are told by the same authority, pleaded from the pulpit the king's former marriage with Elizabeth Lucy; and the duke of Buckingham is said to have harangued the people to the same effect. But now let us see how the case really stood: Elizabeth Lucy was the daughter of one Wyat of Southampton, a mean gentleman, says Buck, and the wife of one Lucy, as mean a man as Wyat. The mistress of Edward she notoriously was; but what if, in Richard's pursuit of the crown, no question at all was made of this Elizabeth Lucy? We have the best and most undoubted authorities to assure us, that Edward's pre-contract or marriage, urged to invalidate his match with the lady Grey, was with the lady Eleanor Talbot, widow of the lord Butler of Sudeley, and sister of the earl of Shrewsbury, one of the greatest peers in the kingdom; her mother was the lady Katherine Stafford, daughter of Humphrey duke of Buckingham, prince of the blood: an alliance in that age never reckoned unsuitable. Hear the evidence. Honest Philip de Comines says \*,

" that

\* Liv. 5. p. 151. In the 6th book, Comines insinuates that the bishop acted out of revenge for having been imprisoned by Edward: it might be so;

arch  
itions

*Divulgatum enim tunc erat quod Rotulus iste in partibus Boreali-  
bus unde tantus populus Londonias venire debet, conceptus fuit, cum tamen  
qui fuit unicus tanta seditionis & Infamiae auctor continetur  
apud Londonias constitutus, a nomine Ignorabatur. This Commin  
in the foregoing Petition follows [the Passage here cited from the Chronicle]*

*In this Passage* that the bishop of Bath informed Richard, that he had  
*cited by [?]* married king Edward to an English lady; & dit cet evef-  
*More, at length* que qu'il les avoit espouses, & que n'y avoit que luy & ceux  
*the Lady Butler* deux." This is not positive, and yet the description  
*Some mention* marks out the lady Butler, and not Elizabeth Lucy. But  
*in it. I am aware* the Chronicle of Croyland is more exprefs. "Color  
*it appears that* autem introitus & captæ possessionis hujusmodi is erat.  
*L. Th. M. who is* Ostendebatur per modum supplicationis in quodam rotulo  
*successor of the* pergameni quod filii regis Edwardi erant bastardi, suppo-  
*Suppression of this* nendo illum precontraxisse cum quâdam dominâ Alienorâ  
*Story is more* Boteler, antequam reginam Elizabeth duxisset uxorem;  
*faithful Relation* atque insuper, quod sanguis alterius fratris sui, Georgii  
*of it, than* ducis Clarentiæ, fuisset attinctus; ita quod hodie nullus  
*Mr. W. who is* certus & incorruptus sanguis linealis ex parte Richardi  
*his account* ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, nisi in personâ dicti Richardi  
ducis Glocestriæ. Quo circa supplicabatur ei in fine  
ejusdem rotuli, ex parte dominorum & communitatis regni,  
ut jus suum in se assumeret. Is this full? Is this evi-  
dence? Here we see the origin of the tale relating to the  
duchefs of York; nullus certus & incorruptus sanguis: from  
these mistaken or perverted words flowed the report of

but as Comines had before alledged that the bishop had actually said he had married them, it might be the truth that the prelate told out of revenge, and not a lie; nor is it probable that his tale would have had any weight, if false, and unsupported by other circumstances.

*In this Supplication cited by Bucke in the Richard's  
Comp: Hist: of England Vol. 1. p. 24. from whence it  
appears, that this was merely a Petition in Nomine  
Procerum et Populi Borealis of the Gentry & Northern  
People & not ex parte Dominorum & communitatis Regni, as  
Mr. W. gives us to understand, and how it might be Matter  
of Surprise how these Northern People were so well informed*



Richard's aspersing his mother's honour. But as if truth was doomed to emerge, though stifled for near three hundred years, the roll of parliament is at length come to light (with other wonderful discoveries) and sets forth, " that though *the three estates* which petitioned Richard to assume the crown were not assembled in form of parliament ;" yet it rehearses the supplication (recorded by the chronicle above) and declares, " that king Edward was and stood married " and troth plight to one dame Eleanor Butler, daughter to " the earl of Shrewsbury, with whom the said king Edward " had made a pre-contract of matrimony, long before he " made his pretended marriage with Elizabeth Grey." Could Sir Thomas More be ignorant of this fact ? or, if ignorant, where is his competence as an historian ? And how egregiously absurd is his romance of Richard's assuming the crown in consequence of Dr. Shaw's sermon and Buckingham's harangue, to neither of which he pretends the people assented ! Dr. Shaw no doubt tapped the matter to the people ; for Fabian asserts that he durst never shew his face afterwards ; and as Henry the Seventh succeeded so soon, and as the flanders against Richard increased, that might happen ; but it is evident that the nobility were disposed to call the validity of the queen's marriage in question, and that Richard was solemnly invited by the three estates to accept the regal dignity ; and that is farther confirmed by the

G 2

Chronicle

*of this Marriage, which in every other part of the Kingdom was utterly unknown, but the difficulty admits of an easy solution. They were as ignorant as the Rest; the Petition then presented in their Name, must have been framed by Richard's Order. The Matter of it is a Proof of the Illacy -*

Chronicle of Croyland, which says, that Richard, having brought together a great force from the north, from Wales, and other parts, did on the twenty-sixth of June claim the crown, "seque eodem die apud magnam aulam West-  
 "monasterij in cathedram marmoream ibi intravit;" but the supplication afore-mentioned had first been presented to him. This will no doubt be called violence and a force laid on the three estates; and yet that appears by no means to have been the case; for Sir Thomas More, partial as he was against Richard, says, "that to be sure of all enemies,  
 "he sent for five thousand men out of the north against his  
 "coronation, which came up evill apparelled and worse har-  
 "nessed, in rusty harnesse, neither defensable nor scoured to  
 "the sale, which mustered in Finsbury field, to the great  
 "disdain of all lookers on." These rusty companions, despised by the citizens, were not likely to intimidate a warlike nobility; and had force been used to extort their assent, Sir Thomas would have been the first to have told us so. But he suppressed an election that appears to have been voluntary, and invented a scene, in which, by his own account, Richard met with nothing but backwardness and silence, that amounted to a refusal. The probability therefore remains, that the nobility met Richard's claim at least half-way, from their hatred and jealousy of the queen's family, and many of them from the conviction of Edward's

*It was presumed  
 while he  
 was sitting  
 back*



ward's pre-contract. Many might concur from provocation at the attempts that had been made to disturb the due course of law, and some from apprehension of a minority. This last will appear highly probable from three striking circumstances that I shall mention hereafter. The great regularity with which the coronation was prepared and conducted, and the extraordinary concourse of the nobility at it, have not at all the air of an unwelcome revolution, accomplished merely by violence. On the contrary, it bore great resemblance to a much later event, which, being the last of the kind, we term *The Revolution*. The three estates of nobility, clergy, and people, which called Richard to the Crown, and whose act was confirmed by the subsequent parliament, trod the same steps as the convention did which elected the prince of Orange; both setting aside an illegal pretender, the legitimacy of whose birth was called in question. And though the partizans of the Stuarts may exult at my comparing king William to Richard the Third, it will be no matter of triumph, since it appears that Richard's cause was as good as king William's, and that in both instances it was a free election. The art used by Sir Thomas More (when he could not deny a pre-contract) in endeavouring to shift that objection on Elizabeth Lucy, a married woman, contrary to the specific words of the act of parliament, betrays the badness of the Lancastrian cause,

2.

which

*These were the  
Duke of Buckingham  
D. More & the  
5000 men killed  
in Tewkesbury  
field*

*Richard's  
Petition  
drawn forth  
by himself  
presented by  
his northern  
nobles*

which would make us doubt or wonder at the consent of the nobility in giving way to the act for bastardizing the children of Edward the Fourth. But reinstate the claim of the lady Butler, which probably was well known, and conceive the interest that her great relations must have made to set aside the queen's marriage, nothing appears more natural than Richard's succession. His usurpation vanishes, and in a few pages more, I shall shew that his consequential cruelty vanishes too, or at most is very problematic : but first I must revert to some intervening circumstances.

In this whole story nothing is less known to us than the grounds on which lord Hastings was put to death. He had lived in open enmity with the queen and her family, and had been but newly reconciled to her son the marquis Dorset ; yet Sir Thomas owns that lord Hastings was one of the first to abet Richard's proceedings against her, and concurred in all the protector's measures. We are amazed therefore to find this lord the first sacrifice under the new government. Sir Thomas More supposes (and he could only suppose ; for whatever archbishop Morton might tell him of the plots of Henry of Richmond, Morton was certainly not entrusted with the secrets of Richard) Sir Thomas, I say, supposes, that Hastings either withstood the deposition of Edward the Fifth, or was accused of such a design by Catesby,



Catesby, who was deeply in his confidence; and he owns that the protector undoubtedly loved him well, and loth he was to have him lost. What then is the presumption? Is it not, that Hastings really was plotting to defeat the new settlement contrary to the intention of the three estates? And who can tell whether the suddenness of the execution was not the effect of necessity? The gates of the Tower were shut during that rapid scene; the protector and his adherents appeared in the first rusty armour that was at hand: but this circumstance is alledged against them, as an incident contrived to gain belief, as if they had been in danger of their lives. The argument is gratis dictum; and as Richard loved Hastings and had used his ministry, the probability lies on the other side: and it is more reasonable to believe that Richard acted in self-defence, than that he exercised a wanton, unnecessary, and disgusting cruelty. The collateral circumstances introduced by More do but weaken \* his account, and take from its probability. I do

"Living for  
fear his life  
should have quailed  
their Purpose"  
Words immediately  
follow those which  
Mr. W. has cited,  
as sufficiently explaining  
the grounds on which  
Hastings was put  
to death" has Mr.  
W. chose to have  
attended to them  
and indeed Nothing  
is more clear in  
this whole History  
than that well

\* Except the proclamation which, Sir Thomas says, appeared to have been prepared before hand. The death of Hastings, I allow, is the fact of which we are most sure, without knowing the immediate motives: we must conclude it was determined on his opposing Richard's claim: farther we do not know, nor whether that opposition was made in a legal or hostile manner. It is impossible to believe that, an hour before his death, he should have exulted in the deaths of their common enemies, and vaunted, as Sir Thomas More asserts, his connection with Richard, if he was then actually at variance

Mr. W. here attempts  
to muffle in  
Obscurity, to  
hide as well as  
he can the Infamy  
of Richard's  
conduct - Hastings  
lost not his Life  
with

"for plotting <sup>to defeat</sup> ~~against~~ the New Settlement", which he was kept ignorant of, together with the Rest of the Council, that, set at Baynard's Castle, but for his known Allegiance & Fidelity to the King, which Richard well knew would never suffer him to take a Part in the usurpation of his Government. which Richard then imputed, & was on the Point of carrying into Effect. - More's Chron: 448

not mean the silly recapitulation of silly omens which fore-  
warned Hastings of his fate, and as omens generally do, to  
no manner of purpose; but I speak of the idle accusations  
put into the mouth of Richard, such as his baring his  
withered arm, and imputing it to forcery, and to his blend-  
ing the queen and Jane Shore in the same plot. Cruel or  
not, Richard was no fool; and therefore it is highly im-  
probable that he should lay the withering of his arm on re-  
cent witchcraft, if it was true, as Sir Thomas More pre-  
tends, that it never had been otherwise—but of the ble-  
mishes and deformity of his person, I shall have occasion to  
speak hereafter. For the other accusation of a league be-  
tween Elizabeth and Jane Shore, Sir Thomas More ridicules  
it himself, and treats it as highly unlikely. But being un-  
likely, was it not more natural for him to think, that it  
never was urged by Richard? And though Sir Thomas  
again draws aside our attention by the penance of Jane,  
which she certainly underwent, it is no kind of proof that  
the protector accused the queen of having plotted † with  
mistress

with him; nor that Richard should, without provocation, have massacred so  
excellent an accomplice. This story, therefore, must be left in the dark, as  
we find it.

† So far from it, that, as Mr. Hume remarks, there is in Rymer's *Fœdera*  
a proclamation of Richard, in which he accuses, not the lord Hastings, but  
the marquis Dorset, of connection with Jane Shore. Mr. Hume thinks for  
authentic

*In S. H. More in Nov 451. Concerning  
Hastings & Jane Shore—*

*And yet the  
Penance he say  
She certainly  
underwent it:  
was soon after  
Murder of Hastings  
in June, & there-  
fore not for  
her connection with  
the Marquis Dorset  
on the October follo-*

*The folly of the  
charge shew the  
Ld. present in  
Council, as forcibly  
as it could. Mr. H.  
they took it as  
a pure Omen, having  
him to be no  
fool, that he  
meant to quarrel  
with them—  
Camp. Hist:  
Eng. Vol. 1 P 493.*



*The Chronicle speaking of the Imprisonment or rather seizure of the Archbishop of York & the Bishop of Ely, & Execution of Hastings, says  
 In saetate sine iustitia aut iudicio tribus fortioribus funibus  
 Novelli Regni, catenis, <sup>omnibus</sup> fidelibus ejus similis formidantibus  
 fuerunt, amodo hi duo Inuicem periculis capiebant. P 566*

mistress Shore. What relates to that unhappy fair one I shall examine at the end of this work.

The very day on which Hastings was executed, were beheaded earl Rivers, ~~Earl~~ <sup>Lord</sup> Richard Grey, Vaughan, and Haute. — These executions are indubitable; were con-  
 sonant to the manners and violence of the age; and perhaps justifiable by that wicked code, state necessity. I have never pretended to deny them, because I find them fully authenticated. I have in another \* place done justice to the virtues and excellent qualities of earl Rivers: let therefore my impartiality be believed, when I reject other facts, for which I can discover no good authority. I can have no interest in Richard's guilt or innocence; but as Henry the Seventh was so much interested to represent him as guilty, I cannot help imputing to the greater usurper, and to the worse tyrant of

authentic a paper not sufficient to overbalance the credit due to Sir Thomas More. What little credit was due to him appears from the course of this work in various and indubitable instances. The proclamation against the lord Dorset and Jane Shore is not dated till the 23d of October following. Is it credible that Richard would have made use of this woman's name again, if he had employed it before to blacken Hastings? It is not probable that, immediately on the death of the king, she had been taken into keeping by lord Hastings; but near seven months had elapsed between that death and her connection with the marquis.

\* In the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i.

*all without  
 find the for-  
 mality of trial  
 Comp. Hist. Eng  
 Vol. I P 497—*

*How so? Henry  
 the 7th had a good  
 title (in Right of  
 his Wife) if he had  
 chosen to have  
 used it. Richard  
 was in the life  
 of his Nephew;  
 had none at all.*

*— Et est secundus Regis qui in hac subitanea  
 mutatione innocenter offensus est. Chronicle Royall*

*labeled by  
 Prof. M.  
 House, of  
 House—*

*the  
 he say  
 in by  
 A: V  
 after  
 Had  
 there  
 for  
 in  
 Dorset  
 followed*

the two, all that appears to me to have been calumny and misrepresentation.

*He was crowned  
(says Sir Thomas More)  
the 7 July; the  
Solemnity was  
furnished for the  
most part with  
the self same  
Provision that  
was appointed  
for the Coronation  
of his Nephew.*

All obstacles thus removed, and Richard being solemnly  
instated in the throne by the concurrent voice of the three  
estates, "He openly," says Sir Thomas More, "took up-  
on him to be king the \* ninth day of June, and the mor-  
row after was proclaimed, riding to Westminster with  
great state; and calling the judges before him, straitly  
commanded them to execute the laws without favour or  
delay, with many good exhortations, of the which he  
followed not one." This is an invidious and false ac-  
cusation. Richard, in his regal capacity, was an excellent  
king, and for the short time of his reign enacted many wise  
and wholesome laws. I doubt even whether one of the best  
proofs of his usurpation was not the goodness of his govern-  
ment, according to a common remark, that princes of  
doubtful titles make the best masters, as it is more necessary  
for them to conciliate the favour of the people: the natural  
corollary from which observation need not be drawn. Cer-  
tain it is that in many parts of the kingdom, not poisoned  
by faction, he was much beloved; and even after his death

*For King  
William.*

\* Though I have copied our historian, as the rest have copied him, in this  
date, I must desire the reader to take notice, that this very date is another of  
Sir T. More's errors; for in the public acts is a deed of Edward the Fifth,  
dated June 17th.

*to Sir Thomas More in his Hist. published by Stowe. In Page 463/ first  
the Date of Hastings' Murder is the 13<sup>th</sup> of June, then a sermon  
on the Sunday following, viz. the 15<sup>th</sup>, the Duke of Buckingham  
heraungue to the Citizens on the Tuesday following, viz. the  
17<sup>th</sup>, His going with the Mayor & Aldermen to Richard, on the 18<sup>th</sup>,  
his acceptance of the Regal Dignity, on the same Day. The*



the northern counties gave open testimony of their affection to his memory.

On the Sixth of July Richard was crowned, and soon after set out on a progress to York, on his way visiting Gloucester, the seat of his former duchy. And now it is that I must call up the attention of the reader, the capital and bloody scene of Richard's life being dated from this progress. The narrative teems with improbabilities and notorious falsehoods, and is flatly contradicted by so many unquestionable facts, that if we have no other reason to believe the murder of Edward the Fifth and his brother, than the account transmitted to us, we shall very much doubt whether they ever were murdered at all. I will state the account, examine it, and produce evidence to confute it, and then the reader will form his own judgment on the matter of fact.

Richard before he left London, had taken no measures to accomplish the assassination; but on the road, "his mind  
" misgave him \*, that while his nephews lived, he should  
" not possess the crown with security. Upon this reflection  
" he dispatched one Richard Greene to Sir Robert Bra-  
" kenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, with a letter and cre-  
" dence also, that the same Sir Robert in any wise should

*John*

\* Sir T. More.

H 2

" put

*Ab eo die dum vivit, Homo iste appellatus est*

*Rea Richardus a. Longueville tertius — Chronicle Anglia*

*Day following 2<sup>nd</sup> viz. the 19<sup>th</sup> the Protector with a great train  
went to Westminster Hall & declared to the audience he would  
take on himself the crown &c. Thus the History & the Pedana  
agree & the error in the Date here cited the History itself corrects*

“ put the two children to death. This John Greene did his  
 “ errand to Brakenbury, kneeling before our Lady in the  
 “ Tower, who plainly answered that he never would put  
 “ them to death, to dye therefore.” Green returned with  
 this answer to the king who was then at Warwick, where-  
 with he took such displeasure and thought, that the same  
 night he said unto a secret page of his, “ Ah ! whom shall a  
 “ man trust ? They that I have brought up myself, they  
 “ that I thought would have most surely served me, even  
 “ those faile me, and at my commandment will do nothing  
 “ for me.” “ Sir,” quoth the page, “ there lieth one in the  
 “ palet chamber without, that I dare say will doe your grace  
 “ pleasure ; the thing were right hard that he would re-  
 “ fuse ;” meaning this by James Tirrel, whom, says Sir  
 Thomas a few pages afterwards, as men say, he there made  
 a knight. “ The man,” continues More, “ had an high  
 “ heart, and sore longed upwards, not rising yet so fast as  
 “ he had hoped, being hindered and kept under by Sir  
 “ Richard Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby, who by secret  
 “ drifts kept him out of all secret trust.” To be short, Tir-  
 rel voluntarily accepted the commission, received warrant to  
 authorize Brakenbury to deliver to him the keys of the  
 Tower for one night ; and having selected two other villains  
 called Miles Forest and John Dighton, the two latter  
 smothered

*See the More  
 writes as some  
 Men say But  
 he plainly  
 signifies his  
 opinion that  
 this was known  
 by calling him  
 straight in  
 the foregoing  
 Page 461*

*Sir John 460  
 More 67*

*An omission.  
 here of some lines  
 More 68  
 It does not  
 appear that  
 Tirrel's comm-  
 was for one  
 night only.*

*See Camp. Hist.*

*Aug 1501*

*His mentioned by L Bacon, at Helen 608 & also by More 460*

*a little more attention in the Reader or a little more  
 candour in the critic would have prevented this weak  
 observation, which serves only a Disposition to cavil in Points  
 indifferent or at least of little moment —*



smothered the innocent princes in their beds, and then called Tirrel to be witness of the execution.

It is difficult to crowd more improbabilities and lies together than are comprehended in this short narrative. Who can believe if Richard meditated the murder, that he took no care to sift Brakenbury before he left London? Who can believe that he would trust so atrocious a commission to a letter? And who can imagine, that on \* Brakenbury's non-compliance Richard would have ordered him to cede the government of the Tower to Tirrel for one night only, the purpose of which had been so plainly pointed out by the preceding message? And had such weak steps been taken, could the murder itself have remained a problem? And yet Sir Thomas More himself is forced to confess at the outset of this very narration, "that the deaths and final fortunes  
" of the two young princes have neverthelesse so far come in

\* It appears from the Fœdera that Brakenbury was appointed Constable of the Tower July 7th; that he surrendered his patent March 9th of the following year, and had one more ample granted to him. If it is supposed that Richard renewed this patent to Sir Robert Brakenbury, to prevent his disclosing what he knew of a murder, in which he had refused to be concerned, I then ask if it is probable that a man too virtuous or too cautious to embark in an assassination, and of whom the supposed tyrant stood in awe, would have laid down his life in that usurper's cause, as Sir Robert did, being killed on Richard's side at Bosworth, when many other of his adherents betrayed him?

" question

*A Man who  
won't conceal  
this Murder for  
him (as Braken-  
bury I think  
certainly did)  
won't naturally  
fight for Richard  
who paid him  
the wages of this Infamy. To talk of such a Man's Virtue is  
very Ridiculous - See the Fœdera*

ch  
ons.

Compare this Quotation with the Passage in St. Tho. More & Judge  
of Mr. Walpole's Honesty. "More says that some <sup>remained</sup> ~~were~~ got in  
Doubt, whether they were in his Days destroyed or No. Not for that only  
the Perkin Warbeck by many <sup>folks</sup> Malice & more folks folly  
so long space abusing the World <sup>as well with Princes as the</sup>  
poorer People <sup>question, that some remained long in doubt, whether they</sup>

"were in his days destroyed + or no." Very memorable  
words, and sufficient to balance More's own testimony with  
the most sanguine believers. He adds, "these doubts not  
only arose from the uncertainty men were in, whether  
Perkin Warbeck was the true duke of York, but for that  
also all things were so covertly demeaned, that there was  
nothing so plain and openly proved, but that yet men  
had it ever inwardly suspect." Sir Thomas goes on to af-  
firm, "that he does not relate the story after every way  
that he had heard, but after that way that he had heard it  
by such men and such means, as he thought it hard but  
it should be true." This affirmation rests on the credi-  
bility of certain reporters, we do not know whom, but who  
we shall find were no credible reporters at all: for to pro-  
ceed to the confutation. James Tirrel, a man in no secret  
trust with the king, and kept down by Catesby and Rat-  
cliffe, is recommended as a proper person by a nameless page.  
+ This is confirmed by Lord Bacon: "Neither wanted there even at  
that time secret rumours and whisperings (which afterwards gathered  
strength, and turned to great trouble) that the two young sons of king Ed-  
ward the Fourth, or one of them (which were said to be destroyed in the  
Tower) were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were  
yet living." Reign of Henry the Seventh, p. 4. again, p. 19. "And  
all this time it was still whispered every where that at least one of the child-  
ren of Edward the Fourth was living."

In

That is by Verbal  
Testimony &  
written authority.  
on what other  
ground is it  
History written  
The question then  
that follows, that  
St. Tho. does rest only  
on the authority  
of credible Reporters  
is false, & no  
less so is that  
which is next to it  
that the Reporters  
whose accounts he  
adopted, were not credible.

that also all things  
were in late days  
so covertly demeaned  
one thing proved  
another man  
that there was  
nothing so plain  
openly proved  
but that yet for  
the common  
factice of close  
secret dealing  
men had it  
inwardly suspect  
as many will  
count feigned  
jewels make  
the true  
mistrusted  
Nov ch: 460



In the first place Richard was crowned at York (after this transaction) September 8th. Edward the Fourth had not been dead four months, and Richard in possession of any power not above two months, and those very bustling and active: Tirrel must have been impatient indeed, if the page had had time to observe his discontent at the superior confidence of Ratcliffe and Catesby. It happens unluckily too, that great part of the time Ratcliffe was absent, Sir Thomas More himself telling us that Sir Richard Ratcliffe had the custody of the prisoners at Pontefract, and presided at their execution there. But a much more unlucky circumstance is, that James Tirrel, said to be knighted for this horrid service, was not only a knight before, but a great or very considerable officer of the crown; and in that situation had walked at Richard's preceding coronation. Should I be told that Sir Thomas More did not mean to confine the ill offices done to Tirrel by Ratcliffe and Catesby solely to the time of Richard's protectorate and regal power, but being all three attached to him when duke of Gloucester, the other two might have lessened Tirrel's credit with the duke even in the preceding reign; then I answer, that Richard's appointing him master of the horse on his accession had removed those disgusts, and left the page no room to represent him as ready through ambition and despondency to lend his ministry to assassination. Nor indeed was the master of

*Ratcliffe commands  
the Army —  
Catesby the  
Instrument  
to bring about  
Hastings! R. in  
shd a Place in  
the Council at  
first by Place  
of J. Tirrel  
appears at most  
to have been —  
It does not  
appear he ever  
did represent  
him ready thro  
Despondency.*

*= Master of the Horse at Richard's coronation the  
Confirmation sufficient of St. Tho's Description  
of Him, kept out of secret Trust, & of the  
Possibility of his Jealousy, at seeing those other  
two, his Rivals, so much more in Richard's  
Favour —*

*He wondered that no Inquiry was made after them —*

*Two I cannot therefore*

\* If the Act be not admitted, what can it be brought to prove? the horse likely to be sent to supersede the constable of the Tower for one night only. That very act<sup>x</sup> was sufficient to point out what Richard desired to, and did, it seems, transact so covertly.

That Sir James Tirrel was and did walk as master of the horse at Richard's coronation<sup>x</sup> cannot be contested. A most curious, invaluable, and authentic monument has lately been discovered, the coronation-roll of Richard the Third. Two several deliveries of parcels of stuff are there expressly entered, as made to "Sir James Tirrel, knyght, "maister of the hors of our sayd soverayn lorde the kyng." What now becomes of Sir Thomas More's informers, and of their narrative, which he thought hard but must be true?

I will go a step farther, and consider the evidence of this murder, as produced by Henry the Seventh some years afterwards, when, instead of lamenting it, it was necessary for his majesty to hope it had been true; at least to hope the people would think so. On the appearance of Perkin Warbeck, who gave himself out for the second of the brothers, who was believed so by most people, and at least feared by the king to be so, he bestirred himself to prove that both the princes had been murdered by his predecessor.

There

2

Did not believe it,  
by "As Some say."  
Plainly distinguishing  
the information with he  
thus suspected, from that  
on which he grounded his Narrative P68



There had been but three actors, besides Richard who had commanded the execution, and was dead. These were Sir James Tirrel, Dighton, and Forrest; and these were all the persons whose depositions Henry pretended to produce; at least of two of them, for Forrest it seems had rotted piece-meal away; a kind of death unknown at present to the college. But there were some others, of whom no notice was taken; as the nameless page, Greene, one Black Will or Will Slaughter who guarded the princes, the friar who buried them, and Sir Robert Brakenbury, who could not be quite ignorant of what had happened: the latter was killed at Bosworth, and the friar was dead too. But why was no inquiry made after Greene and the page? Still this silence was not so impudent as the pretended confession of Dighton and Sir James Tirrel. The former certainly did avow the fact, and was suffered to go unpunished wherever he pleased—undoubtedly that he might spread the tale. And observe these remarkable words of lord Bacon, “ John Dighton, who it seemeth spake best for the king, was forewith set at liberty.” In truth, every step of this pretended discovery, as it stands in lord Bacon, warns us to give no heed to it. Dighton and Tirrel agreed both in a tale, as the king gave out. Their confession therefore was not pub-

lickly.

and yet how is this Confession confuted?  
By asking two Questions—See the next Page  
Who can believe but that Dighton was also  
mercenary Watch &c.?  
Who can believe his (Siriel's) Confession?

He wondered that no Inquiry was made after them—

It does not appear  
that the Nameless  
Page knew any thing  
of the Matter in Hand  
when he recommended  
Tirrel to Richard. I  
was probably removed  
after made acquainted  
with it. Greene  
was employed  
merely as a  
messenger between  
Richard & Braken-  
bury, & must be  
supposed ignorant  
of the contents  
of the letter  
he carried, giving  
the Commission  
for the Murder, &c.  
of the Reply (which  
cannot have been  
a verbal one) he  
brought back  
to Sir Will Slaughter  
whose office was  
to guard the King  
not to murder them  
he must have known  
as little as the other  
two. He cannot therefore

Of the Confession of Tirrel & Dighton. Dr. Tho. More writes, Very truly it is & well known, that at such time as Sir James Tirrel was in the Tower for treason committed against the most famous Prince King Henry the 7<sup>th</sup> both Dighton & he were examined, & confessed the Murder in manner above written.

[ 58 ]

For Treason in supporting the last of Suffolk on the Information of Robert Carson, one of A. Henry's Spies. See Comp. Hist. of Bacon Vol. 1. P. 630. He was not put out of the way till 10 years after the Examination, & was left as much at Liberty as Dighton. Had Mr. W. read I Bacon with more attention to the last, he would not have been reduced to the necessity of refusing tainted his own Assertion in the Text, by a Note from Hall. —

It appears by Hall, that Sir James Tirrel had even enjoyed the favour of Henry; for Tirrel is named as captain of Guisnes in a list of valiant officers that were sent by Henry, in his fifth year, on an expedition into Flanders. Does this look as if Tirrel was so much as suspected of the murder? And who can believe his pretended confession afterwards? Sir James was not executed till Henry's seventeenth year, on suspicion of treason, which suspicion arose on the flight of the earl of Suffolk. Vide Hall's Chronicle, fol. 18 & 55.

There is a heap of general accusations alledged to have been committed by Richard against Henry, in particular of his having shed infant's blood. Was this sufficient specification of the murder of a king? Is it not rather a base

That he confessed the Murder, may be argued, from his not being employed in Henry's Service, after the time of the Supposed Confession. (at least it does not appear he was) tho' before he must have been well esteemed by Him. See the Beginning of the Note.

See his own Note below.

Henry was too wise officiously to search into such a business at such a season. He was already King. What could he have been more, had he proved the Murder? How much life might he have been had he failed in that proof!



tainted Richard himself, and which would have been the most heinous aggravation of his crimes. And no prosecution of the supposed assassins was even thought of till eleven years afterwards, on the appearance of Perkin Warbeck. Tirrel is not named in the act of attainder to which I have had recourse; and such omissions cannot but induce us to surmise that Henry had never been certain of the deaths of the princes, nor ever interested himself to prove that both were dead, till he had great reason to believe that one of them was alive. Let me add, that if the confessions of Dighton and Tirrel were true, Sir Thomas More had no occasion to recur to the information of his unknown credible informers. If those confessions were not true, his informers were not creditable.

Having thus disproved the account of the murder, let us now examine whether we can be sure that the murder was committed.

Of all men it was most incumbent on cardinal Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, to ascertain the fact. To him had the queen entrusted her younger son, and the prelate

base way of insinuating a slander, of which no proof could be given? Was not it consonant to all Henry's policy of involving every thing in obscure and general terms?

I 2

had

*It was not then known, he so well deserved a place in it —*

*Read till he had Reason to do so.*

*The confessions of D. V. T. correspond exactly in D. B. with S. T. H. Story Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Murder.*

*No deception can therefore be taken to his Informations & still left to his recurring to it*

*when he wanted to tell the Story. What follows of these confessions*

*"were not true &c"*

*is a needlest question, a figure called by Buck*

*"Buccone" or Crocodolites & in much use with both of them*

*"leading to draw Allegations into another argument"*

had pledged himself for his security—unless every step of this history is involved in falsehood. Yet what was the behaviour of the archbishop? He appears not to have made the least inquiry into the reports of the murder of both children; nay, not even after Richard's death: on the contrary, Bouchier was the very man who placed the crown on the head of the latter \*; and yet not one historian censures this conduct. Threats and fear could not have dictated this shameless negligence. Every body knows what was the authority of priests in that age; an archbishop was sacred, a cardinal inviolable. As Bouchier survived Richard, was it not incumbent on him to show, that the duke of York had been assassinated in spite of all his endeavours to save him? ○

\* As cardinal Bouchier set the crown on Richard's head at Westminster, so did archbishop Rotherham at York. These prelates either did not believe Richard had murdered his nephews, or were shamefully complaisant themselves. Yet their characters stand unimpeached in history. Could Richard be guilty, and the archbishops be blameless? Could both be ignorant what was become of the young princes, when both had negotiated with the queen dowager? As neither is accused of being the creature of Richard, it is probable that neither of them believed he had taken off his nephews. In the *Fœdera* there is a pardon passed to the archbishop, which at first made me suspect that he had taken some part in behalf of the royal children, as he is pardoned for all murders, treasons, concealments, misprisions, riots, routs, &c. but this pardon is not only dated Dec. 13, some months after he had crowned Richard; but, on looking farther, I find such pardons frequently granted to the most eminent of the clergy. In the next reign Walter, archbishop of Dublin, is pardoned all murders, rapes, treasons, felonies, misprisions, riots, routs, extortions, &c.

○ To what Purpose shou'd the Cardinal have done this? <sup>What</sup>

how & he have proved the Murder, it might it not have drawn <sup>the opinion of the people</sup> ~~any~~ <sup>on him</sup>, by whose Persuasion the child came into the Protector's Power? Were the Proofs wanting & had he declared it, wou'd he have found better with the King, whose Title & Possession he was labouring to overturn.



Edward Earl of Warwick at Richard's assumption of the crown ~~was~~ not more than 17 years old, without a party to support him, & in Richard's power could not be very formidable; & Richard in possession of the crown might be satisfied with his imprisonment. The case was widely different with his other two nephews, one of whom he had acknowledged as his King, the other, failing

What can be argued from this inactivity of Bouchier, but that he did not believe the children were murdered. †?

him, <sup>was</sup> kept in succession. What beloved & supported

Richard's conduct in a parallel case is a strong presumption that this barbarity was falsely laid to his charge. Edward earl of Warwick, his nephew, and son of the duke of Clarence, was in his power too, and no indifferent rival, if king Edward's children were bastards. Clarence had been attainted; but so had almost every prince who had aspired to the crown after Richard the Second. Richard duke of York, the father of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, was son of Richard earl of Cambridge, beheaded for treason; yet that duke of York held his father's attainder no bar to his succession. Yet how did Richard the Third treat his nephew and competitor, the young Warwick? John Rous, a zealous Lancastrian and contemporary shall inform us; and will at the same time tell us an important anecdote, maliciously suppressed or ignorantly omitted by all our historians. Richard actually proclaimed him heir to the crown after the death of his own son, and ordered him to be served next to himself and the queen, though he afterwards

by the nobility & those first in power. The sparing the life of the first is therefore no presumption that he spared the others, & after all it is a loose argument to say he did not murder 2 nephews because he did not kill a third who in respect of them was in a different situation.

Buck  
for 560.

This fact may well be doubted, since all other historians are agreed in the appointment of the Earl of Lincoln to the succession at the time here mentioned. Hall, Hollinghead, & Bacon & Buck

† Lord Bacon tells us, that "on Simon's and Jude's even, the king (Henry the Seventh) dined with Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, and "cardinal: and from Lambeth went by land over the bridge to the Tower." Has not this the appearance of some curiosity in the king on the subject of the princes, of whose fate he was uncertain?

A Natural complement to be paid to One in so high authority, at Henry's

His inactivity, if it <sup>was not</sup> proceeded not from indifference, was ~~probably~~ founded in Disobedience, not in his belief but in that the children were living, an opinion in which there were none to second him.

set question - What passed between them at table, it is

= probably now too late to recall: But even the conversation that is here supposed, it can only tend to show that the King was not without <sup>on this subject</sup> curiosity, at a time when he had said no inquiry was made concerning the children.

set him aside, and confined him to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton\*. The very day after the battle of Bosworth, the usurper Richmond was so far from being led aside from attention to his interest by the glare of his new-acquired crown, that he sent for the earl of Warwick from Sheriff-Hutton and committed him to the Tower, from whence he never stirred more, falling a sacrifice to the inhuman jealousy of Henry, as his sister, the venerable countess of Salisbury, did afterwards to that of Henry the Eighth. Richard, on the contrary, was very affectionate to his family: instances appear in his treatment of the earls of Warwick and Lincoln. The lady Ann Poole, sister of the latter, Richard had agreed to marry to the prince of Scotland.

*What that was  
we have just seen.  
He proclaimed him  
his to the crown  
set him aside,  
I imprisoned  
him all in the  
prison of a few  
Months. This is  
what he calls being  
very affectionate  
to his family &  
to the Earl of Lincoln we know nothing of Richard's  
kindness for him going further than appointing him to  
the Succession, in preference to the Earl of Richmond, whom he  
least wished it, & into whose hands he saw it falling by the failure  
of Male Ague in the R. of York*

The more generous behaviour of Richard to the same young prince (Warwick) ought to be applied to the case of Edward the Fifth, if no proof exists of the murder. But what suspicious words are those of Sir Thomas More, quoted above, and unobserved by all our historians: "Some

*Final & Right  
Confession is  
proof sufficient  
corroborated at  
it is with the  
Discovery of  
the children's  
Bones; & yet  
considering how  
secretly such  
Matters must  
be carried  
it is not to be  
wondered if  
with whom*

\* P. 218. Rous is the more to be credited for this fact, as he saw the earl of Warwick in company with Richard at Warwick the year before on the progress to York, which shows that the king treated his nephew with kindness, and did not confine him till the plots of his enemies thickening, Richard found it necessary to secure such as had any pretensions to the crown. This will account for his preferring the earl of Lincoln, who, being his sister's son, could have no prior claim before himself.

remained



some, wanting  
positive evidence  
& considering  
the enormity  
of the crimes  
remained long  
in doubt.

"remained long in doubt," says he, "whether they (the children) were in his (Richard's) days destroyed or no." If they were not destroyed in his days, in whose days were they murdered? Who will tell me that Henry the Seventh did not find, the eldest at least, prisoner in the Tower; and if he did, what was there in Henry's nature or character to prevent our surmises going farther?

all those who  
take their opinions  
from that history  
w. M. W. cannot  
confute.

\* Bacon shows  
that during his  
Reign long spells  
of troubles, only  
3 of the Nobility  
were executed, the  
Earl of Warwick,  
St. John Bourlaim  
Stanley, & the  
Ardley - that these  
never were so great  
Rebellions as painted  
with so little blood

And here let me lament that two of the greatest men in our annals have prostituted their admirable pens, the one to blacken a great prince, the other to varnish a pitiful tyrant. I mean the two \* chancellors, Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon. The most senseless stories of the mob are converted to history by the former; the latter is still more culpable; he has held up to the admiration of posterity, and what is worse, to the imitation of succeeding princes, a man whose nearest approach to wisdom was mean cunning; and has raised into a legislator, a sanguinary, fardid, and trembling usurper. Henry was a tyrannic husband, and ungrateful master; he cheated as well as oppressed his subjects †, bar-

We have seen  
how far he has  
made his assertion  
good in respect  
of St. John More  
What he here  
says of Bacon  
is utterly false  
who justly with-  
standing his respect  
to Majesty of which  
he could not wholly  
divest himself  
He has taught Mr  
W. to detest  
Henry in those  
parts of his  
Character

drawn by the hand of justice  
as the two rebellions  
of Blackheath &  
Poole.  
It has hitherto been  
understood that the  
habit of their  
profession is to  
maintain

\* It is unfortunate, that another great chancellor should have written a history with the same propensity to misrepresentation, I mean lord Clarendon. It is hoped no more chancellors will write our story, till they can divest themselves of that habit of their profession, apologizing for a bad cause. ~~It was only to apologise for bad causes it were well for us to have taught Mr W. to detest~~ He had no purpose to go through with any warre upon France, but the truth was, that hee did but traffique with that warre to make his returne in "money." Ld Bacon's reign of Henry the Seventh, p. 99.

Character, where he

stronger to turn his sense of Henry's avarice & plunder of his Subjects Wealth - See his History - On the other hand his long successful Reign, in times of trouble, acting as he did, on his own judgment, proves him to have possessed something more than cunning; & the many good laws made in his time gives him a good Plea to the

Title of Legislator - His courage cannot be doubted. His Behaviour  
to his Wife & Title to the crown are no where over-rated by 1<sup>st</sup> Bacon.  
See his Character at large  
635 to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> Volume  
Comp. Hist. Engl.

We are now arrived at  
the end of Mr W. Heymont;

[ 64 ]

by which we would find

that Richard entered the honour of the nation for foreign gold, and cut off  
spared his Nephew, every branch of the royal family, to ensure possession to his  
& all that he <sup>is</sup> no title. Had he had any title, he could claim it but from  
certain of that his mother, and her he set aside. But of all titles he pre-  
ferred that of conquest, which, if allowable in a foreign  
he at first treated prince, can never be valid in a native, but ought to make  
one of them with him the execration of his countrymen.  
Respect, and yet he

makes out as ill

as what is gone

before -

There is nothing strained in the supposition of Richard's  
sparing his nephew. At least it is certain now, that though  
he dispossessed, he undoubtedly treated him at first with in-  
dulgence, attention, and respect; and though the proof I  
am going to give must have mortified the friends of the de-  
throned young prince, yet it shewed great aversion to cruelty,  
and was an indication that Richard rather assumed the crown  
for a season, than as meaning to detain it always from his  
brother's posterity. It is well known that in the Saxon times  
nothing was more common in cases of minority than for the  
uncle to be preferred to the nephew; and though bastardizing  
his brother's children was, on this supposition, double deal-  
ing; yet I have no doubt but Richard went so far as to infi-  
nuate an intention of restoring the crown when young Ed-  
ward should be of full age. I have three strong proofs of  
this hypothesis. In the first place Sir Thomas More reports  
that the duke of Buckingham in his conversations with Mor-  
ton, after his defection from Richard, told the bishop that  
the

when they were  
not, for Uncle

to prefer themselves

a Right of Succession

thoroughly

understood by

Richard the 1<sup>st</sup>

hardly borrowed

from the Original

the Saxon Laws having

been out of use in Richard's

Times, for a 4<sup>th</sup> 100 Years -

Warwick was  
executed the  
Earl of Arundel  
Son of Elizabeth  
the 1<sup>st</sup> of York  
Imprisoned, &  
he had twice fled  
the Kingdom  
molesting  
Mischiefs  
Henry 6<sup>th</sup>  
630. 633 -



the protector's first proposal had been to take the crown, till Edward his nephew should attain the age of twenty-four years. Morton was certainly competent evidence of these discourses, and therefore a credible one ; and the idea is confirmed by the two other proofs I alluded to ; the second of which was, that Richard's son did *not* walk at his father's coronation. Sir Thomas More indeed says that Richard created him prince of Wales on assuming the crown ; but this is one of Sir Thomas's misrepresentations, and is contradicted by fact, for Richard did not create his son prince of Wales till he arrived at York ; a circumstance that might lead the people to believe that in the interval of the two coronations, the latter of which was celebrated at York, September 8th, the princes were murdered.

But though Richard's son did not walk at his father's coronation, Edward the Fifth probably did, and this is my third proof. I conceive all the astonishment of my readers at this assertion, and yet it is founded on strongly presumptive evidence. In the \* coronation roll itself is this amazing entry :  
 “ To Lord Edward, son of late king Edward the Fourth, for

\* This singular curiosity was first mentioned to me by the lord bishop of Carlisle. Mr. Astle lent me an extract of it, with other useful assistances ; and Mr. Chamberlain of the great wardrobe obliged me with the perusal of the original ; favours which I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging.

" for his apparel and array, that is to say, a short gowne made  
 " of two yards and three quarters of crymsy clothe of gold,  
 " lyned with two yards  $\frac{3}{4}$  of blac velvet, a long gowne made  
 " of vi yards D of crymsyn cloth of gold lynned with fix  
 " yards of green damask, a shorte gowne made of two yards  
 "  $\frac{3}{4}$  of purpell velvett lyned with two yards  $\frac{3}{4}$  of green da-  
 " mask, a doublett and a stomacher made of two yards of  
 " blac fatyn, &c." besides two foot cloths, a bonet of purple  
 velvet, nine horse harness, and nine saddle houses (houfings)  
 of blue velvet, gilt spurs, with many other rich articles, and  
 magnificent apparel for his henchmen or pages.

*This Prisoner we  
 were told given to  
 understand in  
 Page 36, was no  
 Prisoner but the  
 Heir of the Crown  
 living at Liberty  
 in Kingly State  
 in the Royal  
 Apartments*

Let no body tell me that these robes, this magnificence,  
 these trappings for a cavalcade, were for the use of a prisoner.  
 Marvellous as the fact is, there can no longer be any doubt but  
 the deposed young king walked, or it was intended should walk,  
 at his uncle's coronation. This precious monument, a terrible  
 reproach to Sir Thomas More and his copyists, who have been  
 silent on so public an event, exists in the great wardrobe; and  
 is in the highest preservation; it is written on vellom, and is  
 bound with the coronation rolls of Henry the Seventh and  
 Eighth. These are written on paper, and are in worse condi-  
 tion; but that of king Richard is uncommonly fair, accurate  
 and ample. It is the account of Peter Courteys keeper of the  
 great wardrobe, and dates from the day of king Edward the

Fourth



Fourth his death, to the feast of the purification in the February of the following year. Peter Courteys specifies what stuff he found in the wardrobe, what contracts he made for the ensuing coronation, and the deliveries in consequence. The whole is couched in the most minute and regular manner, and is preferable to a thousand vague and interested histories. The concourse of nobility at that ceremony was extraordinarily great : there were present no fewer than three duchesses of Norfolk. Has this the air of a forced and precipitate election ? Or does it not indicate a voluntary concurrence of the nobility ? No mention being made in the roll of the young duke of York, no robes being ordered for him, it looks extremely as if he was not in Richard's custody ; and strengthens the probability that will appear hereafter, of his having been conveyed away.

There is another article, rather curious than decisive of any point of history. One entry is thus ; " To the lady Brygitt, oon of the daughters of K. Edward IIIth, being  
" seeke (sick) in the said wardrobe for to have for her use  
" two long pillows of fustian stuffed with downe, and two  
" pilow beres of Holland cloth." The only conjecture that can be formed from this passage is, that the lady Bridget, being lodged in the great wardrobe, was not then in sanctuary.

*It seems  
indeed in  
that supposition  
most likely*

Can it be doubted now but that Richard meant to have it thought that his assumption of the crown was only temporary? But when he proceeded to bastardize his nephew by

act of parliament, then it became necessary to set him entirely aside: stronger proofs of the bastardy might have come out; and it is reasonable to infer this, for on the death of his own son, when Richard had no longer any reason of family to bar his brother Edward's children, instead of again calling them to the succession, as he at first projected or gave out he would, he settled the crown on the issue of his sister, Suffolk, declaring her eldest son the earl of Lincoln his successor. That young prince was slain in the battle of Stoke against Henry the Seventh, and his younger brother the earl of Suffolk, who had fled to Flanders, was extorted from the archduke Philip, who by contrary winds had been driven into England. Henry took a solemn oath not to put him to death; but copying David rather than Solomon, he, on his death-bed, recommended it to his son Henry the Eighth to execute Suffolk; and Henry the Eighth was too pious not to obey so scriptural an injunction.

Strange as the fact was of Edward the Fifth walking at his successor's coronation, I have found an event exactly parallel which happened some years before. It is well known that the famous Joan of Naples was dethroned and murdered by

the

But as he tells us, *Parallels prove Nothing*, this might as well have been omitted, especially as no possible use of it can be made, except that which he ~~forbids~~ the application of: a comparison of Darius to Wickedness with Richard's



the man she had chosen for her heir, Charles Durazzo. Ingratitude and cruelty were the characteristics of that wretch. He had been brought up and formed by his uncle Louis king of Hungary, who left only two daughters. Mary the eldest succeeded and was declared *king*; for that warlike nation, who regarded the sex of a word, more than of a person, would not suffer themselves to be governed by the term *queen*. Durazzo quitted Naples in pursuit of new ingratitude; dethroned *king Mary*, and obliged her to walk at his coronation; an insult she and her mother soon revenged by having him assassinated.

I do not doubt but the wickedness of Durazzo will be thought a proper parallel to Richard's. But parallels prove nothing: and a man must be a very poor reasoner who thinks he has an advantage over me, because I dare produce a circumstance that resembles my subject in the case to which it is applied, and leaves my argument just as strong as it was before in every other point.

They who the most firmly believe the murder of the two princes, and from what I have said it is plain that they believe it more strongly than the age did in which it was pretended to be committed; urge the disappearance \* of the

princes

\* Polidore Vergil says, "In vulgus fama valuit filios Edwardi Regis aliquo terrarum partem migrasse, atque ita superstites esse." And the prior of Croyland,

+ Polidore Vergil says no such thing - rather in his History is there any trace of such a passage to be met with - See his Acc't of the Murder of the Young Princes. It seems to be taken from Dr. H. More's 2<sup>d</sup> Book P. 346. W. W. has taken this passage from Buck who pretends to cite it from Vergil. See Henrich's Hist. P. 530

*The case being alike in the two instances, the same construction must be put on each, &c. Man must be a poor Reasoner indeed, who will call the same thing a fault in Durazzo & a virtue in Richard. See Page 64.*

The passage quoted from the Chronicle of Croyland in the Note Mr. W. says  
is taken from the Prior of Croyland not his Continuator. But the  
History of the former begins at Stephen ends at the 9th year  
of Edward the 1st & it is the Continuator who only treats of that  
Part of the History now in Question. It is his sentence to which  
Mr. W. has perverted

princes as a proof of the murder, but that argument vanishes  
entirely, at least with regard to one of them, if Perkin War-  
beck was the true duke of York, as I shall show that it is  
greatly probable he was.

With regard to the elder, his disappearance is no kind of  
proof that he was murdered: he might die in the Tower.  
The queen pleaded to the archbishop of York that both  
princes were weak and unhealthy. I have insinuated that it  
is not impossible but Henry the Seventh might find him alive  
in the Tower. I mention that as a bare possibility—but we  
may be very sure that if he did find Edward alive there, he  
would not have notified his existence, to acquit Richard and  
hazard his own crown. The circumstances of the murder  
were evidently false, and invented by Henry to discredit Per-  
kin; and the time of the murder is absolutely a fiction, for  
it appears by the roll of parliament, which bastardized Ed-  
ward the Fifth, that he was then  $\dagger$  alive, which was seven  
months

Croyland, not his continuator, whom I shall quote in the next note but one,  
and who was still better informed, "Vulgatum est regis Edwardi pueros con-  
cessisse in fata, sed quo genere interitus ignoratur." Copied from

Buck asserts this from the parliament-roll. The annotator in Kennett's  
collection says, "this author would have done much towards the credit he  
drives at in his history, to have specified the place of the roll and the words  
thereof, whence such arguments might be gathered; for," adds he, "all  
histories relate the murders to be committed before this time." I have shown  
that

she who is quoted  
in every other  
Instance

Buck  
that one Prince  
was unhealthy  
that the Duke  
of York, in the  
Complete History  
of the Vol. 1. p. 489  
Page 552  
whence Mr. W.  
has borrowed  
this suggestion.  
The Words of  
the Chronicle  
are; Vulgatum  
est dictos Regis  
Edwardi pueros  
quo genere violenti  
interitus ignoratur  
decessisse in fata  
See the top of  
this Page -

Is there any proof  
of dying so?  
Putting here possibility  
out of the case, do  
you think he died?  
If so, what Reason  
have you to think it?  
I Bacon's opinion  
this matter is  
certainly that  
rumour which  
led him so much  
to think of that the  
Duke of York should  
be saved & alive  
was at the first  
his own nourishing.  
Buck - 1551.  
because he won a heart  
more reason not  
to reign in Right  
of his Wife the  
Speaks indeed of the  
Duke of York not of Edward  
but the Reasoning (such as it is)  
applies equally to either of them

And yet if you have no better Proof of y<sup>e</sup> Affection than is here set down  
the Time assigned for the Murder will be thought as little fictitious  
as the circumstances attending it - See the Note at the Bottom of the  
next Page -



What is below relative to this Passage was written before I had recourse to the Parliamentary History seems a sufficient Refutation of Mr. W. Reasoning. ~~The Matter~~ on his own Representation: But on turning to the Act I find his Citation there as false as it has been shown in other Instances: <sup>(he says)</sup> Since the Words will imply Edw. 5. being alive when the Act was passed, Richard spared him seven months, what could suggest a reason for his murder afterwards? To take him off then was strengthening the plan of the earl of Richmond, who aimed at the crown by marrying Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward the Fourth. <sup>the Page that</sup> that all histories are reduced to one history, Sir Thomas More's; for the rest copy him verbatim; and I have shown that his account is false and improbable. <sup>where he gives an account such as one</sup> As the roll itself is now printed, in the parliamentary history, vol. 2. I will point out the words that imply Edward the Fifth being alive when the act was passed. "Also it appeareth that all the issue of the said king Edward be bastards and unable to inherit or claim any thing by inheritance, by the law and custom of England." Had Edward the Fifth been dead, would not the act indubitably have run thus, *were and be bastards*. No, says the act, all the issue are bastards. Who were rendered incapable to inherit but Edward the Fifth, his brother and sisters? Would not the act have specified the daughters of Edward the Fourth, if the sons had been dead? It was to bastardize the brothers, that the act was calculated and passed; and as the words all the issue comprehend males and females, it is clear that both were intended to be bastardized. I must however, impartially observe that Philip de Comines says, Richard having murdered his nephews, degraded their two sisters in full parliament. I will not dwell on his mistake of mentioning two sisters instead of five; but it must be remarked, that neither brothers nor sisters being specified in the act, but under the general term of king Edward's issue, it would naturally strike those who were uncertain what was become of the sons, that this act was levelled against the daughters. And as Comines did not write till some years after the event, he could not well help falling into that mistake. For my own part I know not how to believe that Richard would have passed that act, if he had murdered the two princes. It was recalling a shocking crime, and to little purpose; for as no woman had at that time ever sat on the English throne in her own right, Richard had little reason to apprehend the claim of his neices.

<sup>2</sup> of  
The Act was probably thus formed to induce an Opinion that all Edwards Issue were then living at a time it was generally believed the two Sons were murdered: Had the Daughters only been mentioned, the Matter would have been past Doubt, with Richard hardly desired. The Necessity of Bastardizing a Dead Prince who had no Issue, I own, does not appear to me.

Respect, will be less surprising when we consider the general Incompleteness & Imperfection of this History. The Death of Hastings is mentioned & not in the least accounted for, & the Duke of Buckingham's Discontent with Richard is not at all hinted at. We see him the Principal Actor in imprisoning the Young King, & in making Richard the Protector. His next business, without any Reason assigned is to send an Invitation to the Earl of Richmond into Brittany, to dethrone Richard & marry the Princess Elizabeth.

Richard would probably be satisfied with Possession of the Crown, without declaring a firm the Honor of spreading among his People the Vengeance of his People —

Those who committed the other Murders attended to, if possible would have concealed their crimes, & Henry & Edward would probably have thought their Follies as good by the Death of the Princes they murdered, as they could be made by a Declaration of their Murder & the Knowledge of the Facts which gave them possession. Reports, & not only so relate them — But they were Reports too well confirmed afterwards, when by the Murderers Confession, & Richard who concealed the Murder of the Princes from all the World & hardly reveal it to the Mother & Daughters in Sanctuary

of Edward the Fourth. As the house of York never rose again, as the reverse of Richard's fortune deprived him of any friend, and as no contemporaries but Fabian and the author of the Chronicle have written a word on that period, and they, too slightly to inform us, it is impossible to know whether Richard ever took any steps to refute the calumny. But we do know that Fabian only mentions the deaths of the princes as reports, which is proof that Richard never declared their deaths or the death of either, as he would probably have done if he had removed them for his own security. The confessions of Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon that many doubted of the murder, amount to a violent presumption that they were not murdered: and to a proof that their deaths were never declared. No man has ever doubted that Edward the Second, Richard the Second, and Henry the Sixth perished at the times that were given out. Nor Henry the Fourth, nor Edward the Fourth thought it would much help their titles to leave it doubtful whether their competitors existed or not. Observe too, that the chronicle of Croyland, after relating Richard's second coronation at York, says, it was advised by some in the sanctuary at Westminster to convey abroad some of king Edward's daughters, "ut si quid dictis masculis humanitus in Turri contingerat, nihilominus per salvandas personas filiarum, regnum aliquando ad veros rediret hæredes." He says not a word of the

Back 353



the  
d  
the  
thout  
t  
tabo  
C  
as  
ing

The Chronicle of Freyland reports Rabeliffe Hates by to have opposed violently the King's marriage with his Niece, fearing that if the ear was in that situation might think of doing Justice on the Murderers of her Uncle. But as to Richard's Intention he speaks very positively of it; when he denied it publicly, he says *adversus* the princes being murdered, only urges the fears of their friends that it might happen. This was a living witness, very bitter against Richard, who still never accuses him of destroying his nephews, and who speaks of them as living, after the time in which Sir Thomas More, who was not then five years old, declares they were dead. Thus the parliament roll and the chronicle agree, and both contradict More. "Interim & dum hæc agerentur (the coronation at York) remanserunt duo predicti Edwardi regis filii sub certâ deputatâ custodiâ infra Turrim Londoniarum." These are the express words of the Chronicle, p. 567.

The Parliament Roll has been shown to be a forgery; the Question lies only between Sir Tho. More & the Chronicle. The latter in another Place says *Valerium est & Regis & dno. Ducos consilios in fata sed quo genere, interitus Ignorat*. Other History & not appearing to know any thing of the Persons concerned in the Murder may well be supposed Ignorant of the Time in which it was committed.

What he means by saying this Marriage had nothing to do with the Death of her Brothers is I suppose. That it was not proposed till some Months after; & as <sup>to show that</sup> Richard had no other Title than the Illegitimacy of his Nephews, & that that being a good one, their Murder was unnecessary. and lastly that he murdered them, their Claim would have been transferred to their Sisters - as the Matter of their Murder is by this Time pretty clear, his Recurring to it, can have no Effect but to show how many Months it was before Rich. had any thought of providing himself with a Title.

As Sir Tho. More does not write on the Memory of what passed, when he was five years old, but on Information than this Living Witness, who was not present at the scene in the Question, his authority is the better of the two; the account of this Monk who wrote in his convent "must not be supposed to outweigh the concurrent Testimony of X other History" rather by a Promise to lay it down again - See the Three Strong Proofs - P. 44. And yet his Marriage with that Prince would have strengthened his Title being at the Death of her Brothers the next in Succession.

*Mr. W. here*  
contradicting the

*Important*  
*anecdote* which  
he produced on  
Page 61, & said  
he stated the

*Historians calling*  
*them Malicious*  
*or Ignorant*

*for suppressing*  
*this fact*  
*Warwick's*  
*appointment*  
*to the Succession*

*The Story of*  
*Richard's*

*poisoning his*  
*wife* is not

*affirmed by Dr.*

*Mr. More* & says

*Other Historians*

*It is mentioned*

*only as a thing*

*with some*

*the time of her death,*

*suspected -*

*\* That Richard*

*as*

*made overtures*

*for marrying his*

*neice cannot be*

*doubted. Since all History agrees in it. Whether Love or*

1485. He certainly therefore did not mean to strengthen his title by marrying his neice to the disinherison of his own son; and having on the loss of that son, declared his nephew the earl of Lincoln his successor, it is plain that he still trusted to the illegitimacy of his brother's children: and in no case possibly to be put, can it be thought that he wished to give strength to the claim of the princess Elizabeth.

Let us now examine the accusation of his intending to marry that neice: one of the consequences of which intention is a vague suspicion of poisoning his wife. Buck says that the queen was in a languishing condition, and that the physicians declared she could not hold out till April; and he affirms having seen in the earl of Arundel's library a letter written in passionate strains of love for her uncle by Elizabeth to the duke of Norfolk, in which she expressed doubts that the month of April would never arrive. What is there in this account that looks like poison? Does it not prove that Richard would not hasten the death of his queen? The tales of poisoning for a time certain are now exploded; nor is it in nature to believe that the princess could be impatient to marry him, if she knew or thought he had murdered her brothers. Historians tell us that the queen took much to heart the death of her son, and never got over it. Had Richard been eager to wed his neice, and had his character been

made overtures for marrying his neice cannot be doubted. Since all History agrees in it. Whether Love or Policy were the motives which urged him must remain about his fear of the Earl of Richmond's making that Alliance probably had much weight with him -

*February*  
*Buck 568*

*February*  
*Buck 568*



as impetuously wicked as it is represented, he would not have let the forward princess wait for the slow decay of her rival; nor did he think of it till nine months after the death of his son; which shows it was only to prevent Richmond's marrying her. His declaring his nephew his successor, implies at the same time no thought of getting rid of his queen, though he did not expect more issue from her: and little as Buck's authority is regarded, a cotemporary writer confirms the probability of this story. The Chronicle of Croyland says, that at \* the Christmas festival, men were scandalized at seeing the queen and the lady Elizabeth dressed in robes similar and equally royal. I should suppose that Richard learning the projected marriage of Elizabeth and the earl of Richmond, amused the young princess with the hopes of

1485

\* " Per hæc festa natalia choreis aut tripudiis, variisque mutatoriis vestium  
 " Annæ reginæ atque dominæ Elizabeth, primogenitæ defuncti regis, eisdem  
 " colore & forma distributis nimis intentum est: dictumque a multis est, ipsum  
 " regem aut expectatâ morte reginæ aut per divortium, matrimonio cum dictâ  
 " Elizabeth contrahendo mentem omnibus modis applicare," p. 572. If Richard  
 projected this match at Christmas, he was not likely to let these intentions be  
 perceived so early, nor to wait till March, if he did not know that the queen was  
 incurably ill. The Chronicle says, she died of a languishing distemper. Did  
 that look like poison? It is scarce necessary to say that a dispensation from  
 the pope was in that age held so clear a solution of all obstacles to the marriage  
 of near relations, and was so easily to be obtained or purchased by a great  
 prince, that Richard would not have been thought by his cotemporaries to  
 have incurred any guilt, even if he had proposed to wed his niece, which how-  
 ever is far from being clear to have been his intention.

*Non aliter  
 videbat Regem  
 sibi confirmari,  
 neque sibi  
 competitoris sui  
 inferre populo  
 cruciâ Crisp.*

making her his queen; and that Richard feared that alliance, is plain from his sending her to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton on the landing of Richmond.

The behaviour of the queen dowager must also be noticed. She was stripped by her son-in-law Henry of all her possessions, and confined to a monastery, for delivering up her daughters to Richard. Historians too are lavish in their censures on her for consenting to bestow her daughter on the murderer of her sons and brother. But if the murder of her sons is, as we have seen, most uncertain, this solemn charge falls to the ground: and for the deaths of her brother and lord Richard Grey, one of her elder sons, it has already appeared that she imputed them to Hastings. It is much more likely that Richard convinced her he had not murdered her sons, than that she delivered up her daughters to him believing it. The rigour exercised on her by Henry the Seventh on her countenancing Lambert Simnel, evidently set up to try the temper of the nation in favour of some prince of the house of York, is a violent presumption that the queen dowager believed her second son living: and notwithstanding all the endeavours of Henry to discredit Perkin Warbeck, it will remain highly probable that many more who ought to know the truth, believed so likewise; and that fact I shall examine next.

It

*This Cause of her  
Imprisonment  
Mr. W. himself  
treats in Page 78  
as a silly device:  
then trumped up  
as it certainly  
was, to hide the  
true Reason of  
it, and was her  
tempering in  
Simnel's Plot  
This Rigor was  
the Imprisonment  
to which Henry  
alone he assigns  
a different motive*

*See how that  
is made out  
in Page 28  
But what hope  
for him I  
Hastings  
instead of  
ordering their  
Execution  
suffered by the  
same Inhuman  
Sentence  
the same Day  
that they did*



It was in the second year of Henry the Seventh that Lambert Simnel appeared. This youth first personated Richard duke of York, then Edward earl of Warwick ; and was undoubtedly an impostor. Lord Bacon owns that it was whispered every-where, that *at least one* of the children of Edward the Fourth was living. Such whispers prove two things ; one, that the murder was very uncertain : the second, that it would have been very dangerous to disprove the murder ; Henry being at least as much interested as Richard had been to have the children dead. Richard had set them aside as bastards, and thence had a title to the crown ; but Henry was himself the issue of a bastard line, and had no title at all. Faction had set him on the throne, and his match with the supposed heiress of York induced the nation to wink at the defect in his own blood. The children of Clarence and of the duchess of Suffolk were living ; so was the young duke of Buckingham, legitimately sprung from the youngest son of Edward the Third ; whereas Henry came of the spurious stock of John of Gaunt. Lambert Simnel appeared before Henry had had time to disgust the nation, as he did afterwards, by his tyranny, cruelty, and exactions. But what was most remarkable, the queen dowager tampered in this plot. Is it to be believed, that mere turbulence and a restless spirit could in a year's time influence that woman to throw the nation

*All Vague  
Impertinence*

\* The greater Matter

against the Queen nation again into a civil war, and attempt to dethrone her own daughter? And in favour of whom? Of the issue of Clarence, whom she had contributed to have put to death, or in favour of an impostor? There is not common sense in the supposition. No; she certainly knew or believed that Richard, her second son, had escaped and was living, and

since her Interference was glad to overturn the usurper without risking her child. The plot failed, and the queen dowager was shut up, where she remained till her death, "in prison, \* poverty, and

solitude." The king trumped up a silly accusation of her having delivered her daughters out of sanctuary to king Richard, "which proceeding," says the noble historian, "being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue,

generally among his Subjects. He therefore trumped up a silly accusation against her, as a Reason of her Imprisonment, which he thought necessary to his testimony to the truth, and foment insurrections in his favour? Lord Bacon adds, "It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it; for that the priest

can be put on these words, but that the king found the queen dowager was privy to the escape at least or existence of her second son, and secured her, lest she should bear

testimony to the truth, and foment insurrections in his favour? Lord Bacon adds, "It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it; for that the priest

the true Reason, her concern in this Conspiracy; \* Lord Bacon.

is the greater Matter D<sup>r</sup> Bacon alludes to — "Simon See His History of Hen. 7. It is impossible; that any other Interpretation can reasonably be put on his Words; & last of all

that, which is here assigned to them — the escape or existence of the D. of York having no place in Henry's thoughts at a time he was employed in quelling a conspiracy in favor of another Person.

of Some Saps...  
of Examination



“ Simon himself (who set Lambert to work) after he was  
 “ taken, was never brought to execution; no, not so much  
 “ as to publicke triall, but was only shut up close in a dun-  
 “ geon. Adde to this, that after the earl of Lincoln (a  
 “ principal person of the house of York) was flaine in  
 “ Stokefield, the king opened himself to some of his coun-  
 “ cell, that he was sorie for the earl's death, because by  
 “ him (he said) he might have known the bottom of his  
 “ danger.”

The earl of Lincoln had been declared heir to the crown  
 by Richard, and therefore certainly did not mean to ad-  
 vance Simnel, an impostor, to it. It will be insinuated,  
 and lord Bacon attributes that motive to him, that the earl  
 of Lincoln hoped to open a way to the crown for himself.  
 It might be so; still that will not account for Henry's wish,  
 that the earl had been saved. On the contrary, one dan-  
 gerous competitor was removed by his death; and there-  
 fore when Henry wanted to have learned the bottom of his  
 danger, it is plain he referred to Richard duke of York, of  
 whose fate he was still in doubt \*. He certainly was; why

\* The earl of Lincoln assuredly did not mean to blacken his uncle Richard  
 by whom he had been declared heir to the crown. One should therefore be  
 glad to know what account he gave of the escape of the young duke of York.  
 Is it probable that the earl of Lincoln gave out, that the elder had been mur-  
 dered?

*Henry's Wish,  
 that the Earl of  
 Lincoln had been  
 saved, that he  
 might have known  
 the bottom of his  
 danger, was certainly  
 confined simply to  
 this conspiracy; &  
 a natural one it was,  
 since the Earl being  
 the Head of the house  
 who fought against  
 the King, & deepest  
 in the Plot could  
 certainly have  
 informed him how  
 far this conspiracy  
 had infected, &  
 how sounded the  
 bottom of the  
 King's danger  
 with being itself  
 very alarming  
 there is no reason  
 to think he referred  
 to any other.*

Who but yourself else was it thought dangerous to visit or see the queen dowager after her imprisonment, as lord Bacon owns it was? the Question? "For that act," continues he, "the king sustained great she was imprisoned; which nevertheless (besides the reason of state) for a conspiracy, "was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation." against the King. Excellent prince! This is the man in whose favour Richard the Third is represented as a monster!

For Lambert, the king would not take his life," continues Henry's biographer, "both out of magnanimity" (a most proper picture of so mean a mind!) "and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of people in time to come." What! do lawful princes live in dread of a possibility of phantoms? Oh! no; but Henry knew what he had to

It is more reasonable to suppose, that the earl asserted that the child had been conveyed away by means of the queen dowager or some other friend; and before I conclude this examination, that I think will appear most probably to have been the case.

\* Henry had so great a distrust of his right to the crown, that in his second year he obtained a bull from pope Innocent to qualify the privileges of sanctuaries, in which was this remarkable clause, "That if any took sanctuary for a case of treason, the king might appoint him keepers to look to him in a sanctuary." Lord Bacon, p. 39.

3  
live in the dread of the Possibility of such another Phantasm

This is a very perverse construction - The King in obtaining this Bull seems to have had nothing in view, but to prevent those who had taken Sanctuary for Treason, getting out again to do him more Mischief; thus making the Church a Prison for Traitors -

The Earl of Lincoln probably made no objection on the Matter; if he had declared any Opinion at all, it is most likely to have been that of the Murder, which was commonly received, his never been disposed



fear; and he hoped by keeping up the memory of Simnel's imposture, to discredit the true duke of York, as another puppet, when ever he should really appear.

That appearance did not happen till some years afterwards, and in Henry's eleventh year. Lord Bacon has taken infinite pains to prove a second imposture; and yet owns, "that the king's manner of shewing things by peices and by darke lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost a myserie to this day." What has he left a mystery? and what did he try to muffle? Not the imposture, but the truth. Had so politic a man any interest to leave the matter doubtful? Did he try to leave it so? On the contrary, his diligence to detect the imposture was prodigious. Did he publish his narrative to obscure or elucidate the transaction? Was it his manner to muffle any point that he could clear up, especially when it behoved him to have it cleared? When Lambert Simnel first personated the earl of Warwick, did not Henry exhibit that poor prince on a Sunday throughout all the principal streets of London? Was he not conducted to Paul's cross, and openly examined by the nobility? "which did in effect marre the pageant in Ireland." Was not Lambert himself taken into Henry's service, and kept in his court for the same purpose? In short, what did Henry ever muffle and

M

disguise

*He certainly did  
see the Discreet  
Confession of  
Warwick. 623  
It was consonant  
to all Henry's  
Policy of shew  
every thing in  
obscure & general  
Terms. W. H. 59.  
He exhibited  
Perkin in the  
same manner in  
1513. 623.*

disguise but the truth? and why was his whole conduct so different in the cases of Lambert and Perkin, if their cases were not totally different? No doubt remains on the former; the gross falsehoods and contradictions in which Henry's account of the latter is involved, make it evident that he himself could never detect the imposture of the latter, if it was one. Dates, which every historian has neglected, again come to our aid, and cannot be controverted.

Richard duke of York was born in 1474. Perkin Warbeck was not heard of before 1495, when duke Richard would have been Twenty-one. Margaret of York, duchess dowager of Burgundy, and sister of Edward the Fourth, is said by lord Bacon to have been the Juno who persecuted the pious Æneas, Henry, and set up this phantom against him. She it was, say the historians, and says Lord Bacon, p. 115, "who informed Perkin of all the circumstances " and particulars that concerned the person of Richard " duke of York, which he was to act, describing unto him " the personages, lineaments, and features of the king " and queen, his pretended parents, and of his brother " and sisters, and divers others that were nearest him in " his childhood; together with all passages, some secret, " some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of king Edward. Then she added the parti-  
culars

1492

Henry did not  
publish the whole  
of the confession  
only "such parts  
of it, as were thought  
fit to be divulged  
Wherein the King  
did himself no Right  
says P. B. 623, & a  
little lower, "but  
the King chose  
rather not to  
satisfie, than  
"kindle coals"  
Here then we have  
the Reason of the  
Story being left  
imperfect &  
Dark: But it  
was plain the  
King had stronger  
Proofs of the  
Imposture, than  
he chose to Publish  
& who so ever argues  
on what is known, in order  
to confute it, basies himself to  
little Purpose, since that — w<sup>th</sup> completed the  
Proof of the Imposture is wanting —

The Whole of the Matter in  
short never having been published the Truth cannot be known  
from a partial Representation of it: The Suppression of it  
however attended with little consequence, if we believe the Story of



“ culars of the time, from the king’s death, until he and  
 “ his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during  
 “ the time he was abroad, as while he was in sanctuary. As  
 “ for the times while he was in the Tower, and the man-  
 “ ner of his brother’s death, and his own escape, she knew  
 “ they were things that verie few could controule: and there-  
 “ fore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of  
 “ those matters, warning him not to vary from it.” In-  
 deed! Margaret must in truth have been a Juno, a divine  
 power, if she could give all these instructions to purpose.  
 This passage is so very important, the whole story depends  
 so much upon it, that if I can show the utter impossibility  
 of its being true, Perkin will remain the true duke of York  
 for any thing we can prove to the contrary; and for Henry,  
 Sir Thomas More, lord Bacon, and their copyists, it will  
 be impossible to give any longer credit to their narratives.

I have said that duke Richard was born in 1474. Unfor-  
 tunately his aunt Margaret was married out of England in  
 1467, seven years before he was born, and never returned thi-  
 ther. Was not she singularly capable of describing to Perkin,  
 her nephew, whom she had never seen? How well in-  
 formed was she of the times of his childhood, and of all  
 passages relating to his brother and sisters! Oh! but she  
 had English refugees about her. She must have had many,  
 and those of most intimate connection with the court, if she

*all this being  
 an attempt to  
 refute the  
 passage cited  
 above from  
 Bacon  
 on which the  
 story of Perkin  
 does not depend  
 the Murder, with it seems there is no reason to  
 doubt, after all the pains which have been taken  
 to discredit it.*

either for its truth or falsehood, is superfluous.

*all the historians  
 agree that it was  
 Margaret who  
 had the tuition  
 of Perkin, &c  
 Bacon only gives  
 the Particulars  
 of her Instructions  
 & if improbable  
 he only is answer-  
 able for them  
 The Improbability  
 of his Narrative  
 makes nothing  
 in favor of Perkin  
 & can only prove  
 that he wrote on  
 All Information  
 or having none  
 (which is most likely)  
 of what passed  
 in this scene  
 ill supplied  
 the want of it  
 It is not therefore  
 necessary in order  
 to prove  
 Perkin's Impos-  
 sible to prove  
 this part of  
 his history to  
 be true, unless  
 Bacon be  
 infallible. &  
 consequently if  
 that be a fiction  
 on the history may  
 be false & Perkin an  
 impostor.*

and they together could compose a tolerable story for Perkin, that was to take in the most minute passages of so many years \*. Who informed Margaret, that she might inform Perkin, of what passed in sanctuary? Ay; and who told her what passed in the Tower? Let the warmest asserter of the imposture answer that question, and I will give up all I have said in this work; yes, all. Forest was dead, and the supposed priest; Sir James Tirrel, and Dighton, were in Henry's hands. Had they trumpeted about the story of their own guilt and infamy, till Henry, *after* Perkin's

\* It would have required half the court of Edward the Fourth to frame a consistent legend. Let us state this in a manner that must strike our apprehension. The late princess royal was married out of England, before any of the children of the late prince of Wales were born. She lived no farther than the Hague; and yet who thinks that she could have instructed a Dutch lad in so many passages of the courts of her father and brother, that he would not have been detected in an hour's time. Twenty-seven years at least had elapsed since Margaret had been in the court of England. The marquis of Dorset, the earl of Richmond himself, and most of the fugitives had taken refuge in Bretagne, not with Margaret; and yet was she so informed of every trifling story, even those of the nursery, that she was able to pose Henry himself, and reduce him to invent a tale that had not a shadow of probability in it. Why did he not convict Perkin out of his own mouth? Was it ever pretended that Perkin failed in his part? That was the surest and best proof of his being an impostor. Could not the whole court, the whole kingdom of England, so cross-examine this Flemish youth, as to catch him in one lie? No; lord Bacon's Juno had inspired him with full knowledge of all that had passed in the last twenty years. If Margaret was Juno, he who shall answer these questions satisfactorily, "*erit mihi magnus Apollo.*"

appearance,



appearance, found it necessary to publish it? Sir James Tirrel and Dighton had certainly never gone to the court of Burgundy to make a merit with Margaret of having murdered her nephews. How came she to know accurately and authentically a tale which no mortal else knew? Did Perkin or did he not correspond in his narrative with Tirrel and Dighton? If he did, how was it possible for him to know it? If he did not, is it morally credible that Henry would not have made those variations public? If Edward the Fifth was murdered, and the duke of York saved, Perkin could know it but by being the latter. If he did not know it, what was so obvious as his detection? We must allow Perkin to be the true duke of York, or give up the whole story of Tirrel and Dighton. When Henry had Perkin, Tirrel, and Dighton, in his power, he had nothing to do but to confront them, and the imposture was detected. It would not have been sufficient that Margaret had enjoined him to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters. A man does not tell a likely tale, nor was a likely tale enough, of matters of which he is totally ignorant.

having been  
murdered  
12 years before

\* We do not believe  
him to be so  
because we do  
not give  
up that story.

Tirrel & Dighton  
at this time  
confessed the  
murders.

Why then would

Wm. have confronted them  
w<sup>th</sup> Perkin? Would he have  
asked them if they were  
the murderers of the  
princesses, her sisters?

— He might have confronted them & discovered the  
imposture; but the whole progress of the  
History is never having been made known  
that Particular among many others is lost.

1 He was confronted too perhaps with these too  
tho for the same Reason, no Mention remains  
of it. It is said however by P. B. that he was  
in New Liberty; & implying that they were free to go, if they  
pleased. — P. 623

It does not  
appear she did  
he told him only  
a smooth & likely  
tale, w<sup>th</sup> the know  
very few could  
controul. P. 83.

Did he not make  
them Public?

Henry is Perkin;

Confession

published by

Henry, perkin;

Perkin, we say,

knew it not, he

had heard it

— un-  
known, or rather

the Duke of Burgundy

had, & he turned

an Impostor to

persecute him.

\* We say he was

detected —

If Perkin was the

Duke of York,

Tirrel & Dighton's

Story could not be

true; How can

Perkin's being the

Duke of York be

consistent with

the Story of his

Murder? —

*Not in S Bacon*  
*His being in New*  
*at Liberty rather*  
*implies they did*  
*We do not know*  
*what the Confession*  
*was*  
*There is Reason*  
*from what is*  
*observed above*  
*to think they were*

your son? Is this your brother? Was Henry afraid to trust  
 to their natural emotions? Yet "he himself," says lord  
 Bacon, p. 186, "saw him sometimes out of a window, or  
 "in passage." This implies that the queens and princesses  
 never did see him; and yet they surely were the persons  
 who could best detect the counterfeit, if he had been one.  
 Had the young man made a *voluntary*, coherent, and credible  
 confession, no other evidence of his imposture would be  
 wanted; but failing that, we cannot help asking, Why the  
 obvious means of detection were not employed? Those  
 means having been omitted, our suspicions remain in full  
 force.

*This very Natural*  
*for Henry to take*  
*what Measures*  
*he could, to get*  
*to the Bottom of*  
*the Plot, altho'*  
*he were convinced*  
*nothing but Imposture*  
*lay there*  
*The list of great*  
*Men shaken of*  
*who had never*  
*seen Perkin, and*  
*do very little towards*  
*proving him a true Plantagenet.*  
*See S Bacon's account*  
*of this Conspiracy*

Henry, who thus neglected every means of confounding  
 the impostor, took every step he would have done, if con-  
 vinced that Perkin was the true duke of York. His utmost  
 industry was exerted in sifting to the bottom of the plot, in  
 learning who was engaged in the conspiracy, and in de-  
 taching the chief supporters. It is said, though not affir-  
 matively, that to procure confidence to his spies, he caused  
 them to be solemnly cursed at Paul's cross. Certain it is,  
 that, by their information, he came to the knowledge, not  
 of the imposture, but of what rather tended to prove that  
 Perkin was a genuine Plantagenet: I mean, such a list of  
 great men actually in his court and in trust about his person,  
 that no wonder he was seriously alarmed. Sir Robert Clif-  
 ford,



Robert Clifford the moment he betrayed his  
Party, & became a spy for Henry lost all the  
credit & his testimony [on 87 ed] neither to be used in favour  
of Perkin, at the time he espoused him nor against  
him, when he was positive that the claimant was the very identical  
duke of York, son of Edward the Fourth, whom he had  
so often seen, and was perfectly acquainted with. This  
man, Clifford, was bribed back to Henry's service; and  
what was the consequence? He accused Sir William Stanley,

lord Chamberlain, the very man who had set the crown on  
Henry's head in Bosworth field, and own brother to the earl  
of Derby, the then actual husband of Henry's mother, of  
being in the conspiracy? This was indeed essential to  
Henry to know; but what did it proclaim to the nation?  
What could stagger the allegiance of such trust and such  
connexions, but the firm persuasion that Perkin was the  
true duke of York? A spirit of faction and disgust has  
even in later times hurried men into treasonable combina-  
tions; but however Sir William Stanley might be dissatis-  
fied, as not thinking himself adequately rewarded, yet is it  
credible that he should risk such favour, such riches, as lord  
Bacon allows he possessed, on the wild bottom of a Flemish  
counterfeit? The lord Fitzwalter and other great men suf-  
fered in the same cause; and which is remarkable, the first  
was executed at Calais—another presumption that Henry  
would not venture to have his evidence made public. And  
the strongest presumption of all is, that not one of the suf-

He entered into  
the conspiracy  
deceived by  
Clifford's Report

He was conveyed  
to Calais, & there  
kept in hold &  
in hope of life,

until soon  
after (within

"impatient or  
betrayed") he  
dealt with this

"Keeper to have  
escaped & there-  
upon was beheaded  
D Bacon 610

\* A gentleman of fame and family, says lord Bacon.

608  
ferers

*Not one of them  
had seen Perkin  
their Persuasion  
therefore like  
W. Stanley's was  
grounded on  
Stefford's Report*

ferers is pretended to have recanted ; they all died then in the persuasion that they had engaged in a righteous cause. When peers, knights of the garter, privy councillors, suffer death, from conviction of a matter of which they were proper judges (for which of them but must know their late master's son ?) it would be rash indeed in us to affirm that they laid down their lives for an imposture, and died with a lie in their mouths.

*By surely  
if they had  
but seen  
him -*

*and yet what was  
his Opinion of it?*

*When the H. of  
his army  
set out in his Expedi-  
tion with Perkin*

*were laying waste  
the Country thro'  
which they passed  
Perkin touched  
with Charity for*

*his Subjects, passionately  
resented it "Manners"*

*The King answered  
half in sport,  
that he doubted*

*much he was  
careful for that  
was none of his".*

What can be said against king James of Scotland, who bestowed a lady of his own blood in marriage on Perkin ? At war with Henry, James would naturally support his rival, whether genuine or supposititious. He and Charles the Eighth both gave him aid and both gave him up, as the wind of their interest shifted about. Recent instances of such conduct have been seen ; but what prince has gone so far as to stake his belief in a doubtful cause, by sacrificing a princess of his own blood in confirmation of it ?

But it is needless to multiply presumptions. Henry's conduct and the narrative \* he published, are sufficient to stagger every impartial reader. Lord Bacon confesses *the*

\* To what degree arbitrary power dares to trifle with the common sense of mankind has been seen in Portuguese and Russian manifestos.

*king*

*Comp: Hist: Eng. Vol. 1. 617 -*



Henry had the same Reason for suppressing Margaret's Name in this conspiracy, as in the former in favor of Simnel, that it might not appear abroad he had the credit of her support. That she did support him is true; that she did it on the Persuasion of his being her Nephew remains to be proved [ 89 ]

king did himself no good by the publication of that narrative, and that mankind was astonished to find no mention in it of the duchess Margaret's machinations. But how could lord Bacon stop there? Why did he not conjecture that there was no proof of that tale? What interest had Henry to manage a widow of Burgundy? He had applied to the archduke Philip to banish Perkin: Philip replied, he had no power over the lands of the duchess's dowry. It is therefore most credible that the duchess had supported Perkin, on the persuasion he was her nephew; and Henry not being able to prove the reports he had spread of her having trained up an impostor, chose to drop all mention of Margaret, because nothing was so natural as her supporting the heir of her house. On the contrary, in Perkin's confession, as it was

called, and which though preserved by Grafton, was suppressed by lord Bacon, not only as repugnant to his lordship's account, but to common sense, Perkin affirms, that "having failed to Lisbon in a ship with the lady Brampton, who, lord Bacon says, was sent by Margaret to conduct him thither, and from thence having resorted to Ireland, it was at Cork that they of the town first threaped upon him that he was son of the duke of Clarence; and others afterwards, that he was the duke of York." But the contradictions both in lord Bacon's account, and in Henry's narrative, are

N

irreconcilable

That Henry who by all means would endeavor to expose Perkin to the Disgrace & Contempt of the People, would naturally represent his Story to them in the most Ridiculous, & false manner he could devise; & the Confession being confessedly imperfect, it would be equally to unjust to merely on the Credit of it, to affirm Perkin to be an Impostor or Plantage.

irreconcilable and insurmountable : the former solves the likeness \*, which is allowing the likeness, of Perkin to Edward the Fourth, by supposing that the king had an intrigue with his mother ; of which he gives this silly relation : that Perkin Warbeck, whose surname it seems was Peter Osbeck, was son of a Flemish converted Jew (of which Hebrew extraction Perkin says not a † word in his confession) who with his wife Katherine de Faro come to London on business ; and she producing a son, king Edward, in consideration of the conversion, or intrigue, stood godfather to the child and gave him the name of *Peter*. Can one help laughing at being told that a king called *Edward* gave the name of *Peter* to his godson ? But of this transference and christening Perkin, in his supposed confession, says not a word, nor pretends to have ever set foot in England, till he landed there in pursuit of the crown ; and yet an English birth and some day, though in his very childhood, was a better way of accounting for the purity of his accent, than either of the preposterous tales produced by lord Bacon or by Henry. The

As this solution of the likeness is not authorized by the youth's supposed narrative, the likeness remains uncontrovertible, and consequently another argument for his being king Edward's son.

† On the contrary, Perkins calls his grandfather Diryck Osbeck ; Diryck every body knows is Theodoric, and Theodoric is certainly no Jewish appellation. Perkin too mentions several of his relations and their employments at Tournay, without any hint of a Hebrew connection.

former

Why what's the  
Matter ? Edward  
stood godfather  
to the son of  
John Osbeck  
a Jewish convert  
and gave him the  
most Christian  
Name of Peter  
his name  
is Kenneth  
That alone on  
which we can  
form our opinion  
on that Matter  
is the story of  
the Murder ;  
and all  
counts must be  
first disproved, before we can

believe that of the Resurrection

or the appearance of the D. of York under the Name of Perkin.

We have seen it too difficult a Matter for M. W. to overturn that Evidence of it, which he has taken into consideration & <sup>has</sup> ~~is~~ other Evidence, which he passes over. It is that of the Provision given by Richard to Tard, Dighton & Green which can only be considered as his Rewards to them for that Service



former says, that Perkin, roving up and down between Antwerp and Tournay and other towns, and living much in English company, had the English tongue perfect. Henry was so afraid of not ascertaining a good foundation of Perkin's English accent, that he makes him learn the language twice over \*. " Being sent with a merchant of Turney, called " Berlo, to the mart of Antwerp, the said Berlo set me," says Perkin, " to borde in a skinner's house, that dwelled " beside the house of the English nation. And after this " the sayd Berlo set me with a merchant of Middelborough " to service for † to learne the language, with whom I " dwelled

\* Grafton's Chronicle, p. 930.

† I take this to mean the English language, for these reasons; he had just before named the English nation, and the name of his master was John Strewe, which seems to be an English appellation; but there is a stronger reason for believing it means the English language, which is, that a Flemish lad is not set to learn his own language; though even this absurdity is advanced in this same pretended confession, Perkin affirming that his mother, after he had dwelled some time in Tournay, sent him to Antwerp to learn Flemish. If I am told by a very improbable supposition, that French was his native language at Tournay, that he learned Flemish at Antwerp, and Dutch at Middleburg, I will desire the objector to cast his eye on the map, and consider the small distance between Tournay, Middleburg, and Antwerp, and to reflect that the present United Provinces were not then divided from the rest of Flanders; and then to decide whether the dialects spoken at Tournay, Antwerp, and Middleburg were so different in that age, that it was necessary to be set to learn them all separately. If this cannot be answered satisfactorily, it will remain, that

N 2

Perkin

*Service. See Comp. Hist. Eng. Vol. 1. 351. Stripes*

*Extract from a Manuscript Journal of Richard's Reign—  
Lastly, the Discovery of the Bones, which Mr. W. touches only  
lightly (Page 132) seems a very convincing Proof of the Murder—  
Since Children's Bones are hardly so common in that Abyss, as  
he seems to imagine, it is much more Reasonable to infer that*

" dwelled from Christmas to Easter, and then I went into  
 " Portyngale." One does not learn any language very per-  
 fectly and with a good, nay, undistinguishable accent, be-  
 tween Christmas and Easter ; but here let us pause. If this  
 account was true, the other relating to the duchess Margaret  
 was false ; and then how came Perkin by so accurate a  
 knowledge of the English court, that he did not falter, nor  
 could be detected in his tale ? If the confession was *not* true,  
 it remains that it was trumped up by Henry, and then Per-  
 kin must be allowed the true duke of York.

But the gross contradiction of all follows : " It was in Ire-  
 land," says Perkin, in this very narrative and confession,  
 " that against my will they made me to learne English, and  
 " taught me what I should do and say." Amazing ! what  
 forced him to learn English, after, as he says himself in

Perkin learned Flemish or English twice over. I am indifferent which, for  
 still there will remain a contradiction in the confession. And if English is not  
 meant in the passage above, it will only produce a greater difficulty, which is,  
 that Perkin at the age of twenty learned to speak English in Ireland with so  
 good an accent, that all England could not discover the cheat. I must be  
 answered too, why lord Bacon rejects the youth's own confession and substi-  
 tutes another in its place, which makes Perkin born in England, though in  
 his pretended confession Perkin affirms the contrary. Lord Bacon too con-  
 firms my interpretation of the passage in question, by saying that Perkin roved  
 up and down between Antwerp and other towns in Flanders, living much in  
 English company, and having the English tongue perfect, p. 115.

Perkin  
 seems to have  
 been confident  
 as an Impostor  
 in England  
 & his March  
 into North  
 Ireland, &c.

the the Contempt  
 with which  
 Received

these were the Bones of the D. of York, & that therefore  
 Perkin was an Impostor, than that he was the true & over-  
 D. of York (having no better arguments to couch it than those  
 we have been made use of) that therefore those Bones (in  
 spite of ~~Circumstances~~ Probability & Evidence) did not belong  
 to him —



the very same page, he had learnt it at Antwerp ! What an impudence was there in royal power to dare to obtrude such stuff on the world ! Yet this confession, as it is called, was the poor young man forced to read at his execution—no doubt in dread of worse torture. Mr. Hume, though he questions it, owns that it was believed by torture to have been drawn from him. What matters how it was obtained, or whether ever obtained ; it could not be true : and as Henry could put together no more plausible account, commiseration will shed a tear over a hapless youth, sacrificed to the fury and jealousy of an usurper, and in all probability the victim of a tyrant, who has made the world believe that the duke of York, executed by his own orders, had been previously murdered by his predecessor \*.

\* Mr. Hume, to whose doubts all respect is due, tells me he thinks no mention being made of Perkin's title in the Cornish rebellion under the lord Audley, is a strong presumption that the nation was not persuaded of his being the true duke of York. This argument, which at most is negative, seems to me to lose its weight, when it is remembered, that this was an insurrection occasioned by a poll-tax : that the rage of the people was directed against archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, the supposed authors of the grievance. An insurrection against a tax in a southern county, in which no mention is made of a pretender to the crown, is surely not so forcible a presumption against him, as the persuasion of the northern counties that he was the true heir, is an argument in his favour. Much less can it avail against such powerful evidence as I have shown exists to overturn all that Henry could produce against Perkin.

I have

*When does it  
appear, that  
the Northern  
frontiers ever  
were so perfectly  
on the frontier  
the Northern  
frontiers ever  
neglected him  
Perkin March  
into Northumberland*

I have thus, I flatter myself, from the discovery of new authorities, [from the comparison of dates, from fair consequences and arguments, and without straining or wresting probability] proved all I pretended to prove ; not an hypothesis of Richard's universal innocence, but this assertion with which I set out, that we have no reasons, no authority for believing by far the greater part of the crimes charged on him. I have convicted historians of partiality, absurdities, contradictions, and falsehoods ; and though I have destroyed their credit, I have ventured to establish no peremptory conclusion of my own. What did really happen in so dark a period, it would be rash to affirm. The coronation and parliament rolls have ascertained a few facts, either totally unknown, or misrepresented by historians. Time may bring other monuments to light \* : but one thing is sure, that should any man hereafter presume to repeat the same improbable tale on no better grounds than it has been hitherto urged, he must shut his eyes against conviction, and prefer ridiculous tradition to the scepticism due to most points of history, and to none more than to that in question.

I have little more to say, and only on what regards the person of Richard and the story of Jane Shore ; but having

\* If diligent search was to be made in the public offices and convents of the Flemish towns in which the duchess Margaret resided, I should not despair of new lights being gained to that part of our history.



run counter to a very valuable modern historian and friend of my own, I must both make some apology for him, and for myself for disagreeing with him. When Mr. Hume published his reigns of Edward the Fifth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, the coronation roll had not come to light. The stream of historians concurred to make him take this portion of our story for granted. Buck had been given up as an advancer of paradoxes, and nobody but Carte had dared to controvert the popular belief. Mr. Hume treats Carte's doubts as whimsical : I wonder, he did ; he, who having so closely examined our history, had discovered how very fallible many of its authorities are. Mr. Hume himself had ventured to contest both the flattering picture drawn of Edward the First, and those ignominious portraits of Edward the Second and Richard the Second. He had discovered from the *Fœdera*, that Edward the Fourth, while said universally to be prisoner to archbishop Nevil, was at full liberty and doing acts of royal power. Why was it whimsical in Carte to exercise the same spirit of criticism ? Mr. Hume could not but know how much the characters of princes are liable to be flattered or misrepresented. It is of little importance to the world, to Mr. Hume, or to me, whether Richard's story is fairly told or not : and in this amicable discussion I have no fear of offending him by disagreeing with him. His abilities and sagacity do not rest on

the shortest reign in our annals. I shall therefore attempt to give answers to the questions on which he pins the credibility due to the history of Richard.

The questions are these. 1. Had not the queen-mother and the other heads of the York party been fully assured of the death of both the young princes, would they have agreed to call over the earl of Richmond, the head of the Lancastrian party, and marry him to the princess Elizabeth?—I answer, that when the queen-mother could recall that consent, and send to her son the marquis Dorset to quit Richmond, assuring him of king Richard's favour to him and her house, it is impossible to say what so weak and ambitious a woman would not do. She wanted to have some one of her children on the throne, in order to recover her own power. She first engaged her daughter to Richmond and then to Richard. She might not know what was become of her sons; and yet that is no proof they were murdered. They were out of her power, whatever was become of them; and she was impatient to rule. If she was fully assured of their deaths, could Henry, after he came to the crown and had married her daughter, be uncertain of it? I have shown that both Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon own it remained uncertain, and that Henry's account could not be true. As to the heads

Page 78 We were told, she certainly knew or believed Richard her son had escaped & was living. On what son & she found that certainly of B. Ench, or positive belief, if she knew not what was become of him?

In the Minds of some People.  
Bacon's & Grafton's

What Reason is there to think that Henry ever doubted of it? The examinations of some persons of the book were probably not taken for his satisfaction but to satisfy as far as he saw good, the humours of the People; who



of the Yorkists \*; how does it appear they concurred in the projected match? Indeed who were the heads of that party? Margaret duchess of Burgundy, Elizabeth duchess of Suffolk, and her children; did they ever concur in that match? Did not they to the end endeavour to defeat and overturn it? I hope Mr. Hume will not call bishop Morton, the duke of Buckingham, and Margaret countess of Richmond, chiefs of the Yorkists. 2. The story told constantly by Perkin of his escape is utterly incredible, that those who were sent to murder his brother, took pity on him and granted him his liberty.—Answer. We do not know but from Henry's narrative and the Lancastrian historians that Perkin gave this account †. I am not authorized to believe he

\* The excessive affection shown by the Northern counties, where the principal strength of the Yorkists lay, to Richard the Third while living, and to his memory when dead, implies two things; first, that the party did *not* give him up to Henry; secondly, that they did not believe he had murdered his nephews. Tyrants of that magnitude are not apt to be popular. Examine the list of the chiefs in Henry's army, as stated by the Chronicle of Croyland, p. 574. and they will be found Lancastrians, or very private gentlemen, and but one peer, the earl of Oxford, a noted Lancastrian.

† Grafton has preserved a ridiculous oration said to be made by Perkin to the king of Scotland, in which this silly tale is told. Nothing can be depended upon less than such orations, almost always forged by the writer, and unpardonable, if they pass the bounds of truth. Perkin, in the passage in question, uses these words: "And farther to the intent that my life might be in a suretie  
"he (the murderer of my elder brother) appointed one to convey me into some

"straunge

*(And the Impostor been executed without any part of his story being told) won't have been very apt to conclude him the person whose character he took upon him.*

*Such kind of  
Ministers are  
seldom compassed,  
easily disposed,  
& having begun  
their bloody  
Business, to stop  
in the mid-way  
from Motives  
of Pity—*

he did, because I find no authority for the murder of the elder brother ; and if there was, why is it utterly incredible that the younger should have been spared ? 3. What became of him during the course of seven years from his supposed death till his appearance in 1491 ?—Answer. Does uncertainty of where a man has been, prove his non-identity when he appears again ? When Mr. Hume will answer half the questions in this work, I will tell him where Perkin was during those seven years. 4. Why was not the queen-mother, the duchess of Burgundy, and the other friends of the family, applied to, during that time, for his support and education ?—Answer. Who knows that they were not applied to ? The probability is, that they were. The queen's dabbling in the affair of Simnel indicates that she knew her son was alive. And when the duchess of Burgundy is accused of

*+ a Bond  
easily obtained  
would be possible  
in the Execution*

“ strange countrie, where, when I was furthest off, and had most neede of  
“ comfort, he forsooke me sodainly (I think he was so appointed to do) and  
“ left me desolate alone without friend or knowledge of any reliefe or refuge,  
“ &c.” - Would not one think one was reading the tale of Valentine and  
Orson, or any legend of a barbarous age, rather than the history of England,  
when we are told of *strange countries* and such indefinite ramblings, as would  
pass only in a nursery ? It remains not only a secret but a doubt, whether the  
elder brother was murdered. If Perkin was the younger, and knew certainly  
that his brother was put to death, our doubt would vanish : but can it vanish,  
on no better authority than this foolish oration ? Did Grafton hear it pro-  
nounced ? Did king James bestow his kinswoman on Perkin, on the strength  
of such a fable ?

fetting



setting Perkin to work; it is amazing that she should be quoted as knowing nothing about him. 5. Though the duchess of Burgundy at last acknowledged him for her nephew, she had lost all pretence to authority by her former acknowledgement and support of Lambert Simnel, an avowed impostor.—Answer. Mr. Hume here makes an unwary confession by distinguishing between Lambert Simnel, an avowed impostor, and Perkin, whose imposture was problematic. But if he was a true prince, the duchess could only forfeit credit for herself, not for him: nor would her preparing the way for her nephew, by first playing off and feeling the ground by a counterfeit, be an imputation on her, but rather a proof of her wisdom and tenderness. Impostors are easily detected; as Simnel was. All Henry's art and power could never verify the cheat of Perkin; and if the latter was astonishingly adroit, the king was ridiculously clumsy. 6. Perkin himself confessed his imposture more than once, and read his confession to the people, and renewed his confession at the foot of the gibbet on which he was executed.—Answer. I have shown that this confession was such an awkward forgery that lord Bacon did not dare to quote or adhere to it, but invented a new story, more specious, but equally inconsistent with probability. 7. After Henry the Eighth's accession, the titles of the houses of York and Lancaster were fully confounded, and there was

*He is ~~not~~ B  
was not having  
the care of his  
Education,  
during the 7  
Years between  
his supposed  
Death & his  
appearance  
in 91—*

*He never had  
to do it publicly*

*—The  
Playing off  
a Counterfeit  
to learn whether  
the true Person  
would be ack-  
nowledged is  
a Piece of Policy  
reserved for  
the Discovery  
of these Days  
such in the Times  
of Margaret  
of Burgundy  
had certainly  
never entered  
the Head of  
Man or Woman,*

no longer any necessity for defending Henry the Seventh and his title ; yet all the historians of that time, when the events were recent, some of these historians, such as Sir Thomas More, of the highest authority, agree in treating Perkin as an impostor.—Answer. When Sir Thomas More wrote, Henry the Seventh was still alive ; that argument therefore falls entirely to the ground : but there *was* great necessity, I will not say to defend, but even to palliate the titles of both Henry the Seventh and Eighth. The former, all the world agrees now, had no title \* : the latter had none from his father, and a very defective one from his mother. If she had any right, it could only be after her brothers ; and it is not to be supposed that so jealous a tyrant as Henry the Eighth would suffer it to be said that his father and mother enjoyed the throne to the prejudice of that mother's surviving brother, in whose blood the father had imbrued his hands. The murder therefore was to be fixed on Richard the Third, who was to be supposed to have usurped the throne, by murdering,

\* Henry was so reduced to make out any title to the crown, that he caught even at a quibble. In the act of attainder, passed after his accession, he calls himself nephew of Henry the Sixth. He was so, but it was by his father, who was not of the blood royal. Catharine of Valois, after bearing Henry the Sixth, married Owen Tudor, and had two sons, Edmund and Jasper, the former of which married Margaret, mother of Henry the Seventh, and so was he half nephew of Henry the Sixth. On one side he had no blood royal, on the other only bastard blood.

and



and not, as was really the case, by bastardizing his nephews. If they were illegitimate, so was their sister ; and if she was, what title had she conveyed to her son Henry the Eighth ? No wonder that both Henrys were jealous of the earl of Suffolk, whom one bequeathed to slaughter, and the other executed ; for if the children of Edward the Fourth were spurious, and those of Clarence attainted, the right of the house of York was vested in the duchess of Suffolk and her descendants. The massacre of the children of Clarence and the duchess of Suffolk show what Henry the Eighth thought of the titles both of his father and mother †. But, says Mr. Hume, all the historians of that time agree in treating Perkin as an impostor. I have shown from their own mouths that they all doubted of it. The reader must judge between us. But Mr. Hume selects Sir Thomas More as the highest authority ; I have proved that he was the lowest—but not in the case of Perkin, for Sir Thomas More's history does not go so low ; yet happening to mention him, he says, the man, commonly called Perkin Warbeck, was, as well with the princes as the people, held to be the younger son of Edward the Fourth ; and that the deaths of the young king Edward and of Richard his brother had come so far in question, as some

*it was doubted  
by some people  
that they all agree  
in treating  
Perkin as an  
Impostor —  
Indeed!*

† Observe, that when lord Bacon wrote, there *was* great necessity to vindicate the title even of Henry the Seventh, for James the First claimed from the eldest daughter of Henry and Elizabeth.

are yet in doubt, *whether they were destroyed or no in the days of king Richard.* Sir Thomas adhered to the affirmative, relying as I have shown on very bad authorities. But what is a stronger argument ad hominem, I can prove that Mr. Hume did not think Sir Thomas More good authority; no, Mr. Hume was a fairer and more impartial judge: at the very time that he quotes Sir Thomas More, he tacitly rejects his authority; for Mr. Hume, agreeably to truth, specifies the lady Eleanor Butler as the person to whom king Edward was contracted, and not Elizabeth Lucy, as it stands in Sir Thomas More.<sup>+</sup> An attempt to vindicate Richard will perhaps no longer be thought whimsical, when so very acute a reasoner as Mr. Hume could find no better foundation than these seven queries on which to rest his condemnation.

With regard to the person of Richard, it appears to have been as much misrepresented as his actions. Philip de Comines, who was very free spoken even on his own masters, and therefore not likely to spare a foreigner, mentions the beauty of Edward the Fourth; but says nothing of the deformity of Richard, though he saw them together. This is merely negative. The old countess of Desmond, who had danced with Richard, declared he was the handsomest man in the room except his brother Edward, and was very well made. But what shall we say to Dr. Shaw, who in his

<sup>+</sup> This is a gross  
error or a gross  
misrepresentation.  
It happens that  
Sir Thomas More  
was perfectly  
acquainted with  
the story of the  
Lady Eleanor  
Butler's Ruse  
in the Comp. Hist.  
Vol. 1. 182







KING RICHARD III. and QUEEN ANNE.

Verdier delin

Grignon Sculp.

the  
Car  
Dis  
far  
inf  
wa



his sermon appealed to the people, whether Richard was not the express image of his father's person, who was neither ugly nor deformed? Not all the protector's power could have kept the muscles of the mob in awe and prevented their laughing at so ridiculous an apostrophe, had Richard been a little, crooked, withered, hump-back'd monster, as later historians would have us believe—and very idly? Cannot a foul soul inhabit a fair body?

The truth I take to have been this. Richard, who was slender and not tall, had one shoulder a little higher than the other: a defect, by the magnifying glasses of party, by distance of time, and by the amplification of tradition, easily swelled to shocking deformity; for falsehood itself generally pays so much respect to truth as to make it the basis of its superstructures.

I have two reasons for believing Richard was not well made about the shoulders. Among the drawings which I purchased at Vertue's sale was one of Richard and his queen, of which nothing is expressed but the out-lines. There is no intimation from whence the drawing was taken; but by a collateral direction for the colour of the robe, if not copied from a picture, it certainly was from some painted window; where existing I do not pretend to say: in this

+ *Alfred Gros*  
*copied from*  
*Back-Shaw*  
*said he resembled*  
*the Duke only*  
*in face, in the*  
*lineaments, & even*  
*of his visage*

*Comp. Hist.*  
*Eng. Vol. 1548*  
*1549 — La Roche*  
*Wals. & How*  
*Chronicle 154*

*The true Descrip*  
*tion of Richard's*  
*Person seems to*

*be that which the*  
*More gave of it*  
*since in it is*

*summed up, what*  
*is plainly*  
*implied, tho' not*

*always distinctly*  
*mentioned in the*  
*whole*

*Thus John Rous says Parva erat Statura, St. Tho. that he was little of stature*  
*Curam habens faciem, to which the Chronicle adds the Epithets, attenuatam*  
*Dinolentam, Mortificam, St. Tho. says only that he was "hard*  
*favoured of visage", Inaequales Humeros, Dexter Superior, Sinister*  
*inferior, Rous, St. Tho. transposes this Deformity, & says his Left Shoulder*  
*was much higher than his Right" He adds, that he was crook backed*  
*&c.*

whole work I have not gone beyond my vouchers. Richard's face is very comely, and corresponds singularly with the portrait of him in the preface to the Royal and Noble Authors. He has a sort of tippet of ermine doubled about his neck, which seems calculated to disguise some want of symmetry thereabouts. I have given two \* prints of this drawing, which is on large folio paper, that it may lead to a discovery of the original, if not destroyed.

My other authority is John Rous, the antiquary of Warwickshire, who saw Richard at Warwick in the interval of his two coronations, and who describes him thus: "Parvæ staturæ erat, curtam habens faciem, inæquales humeros, dexter superior, sinisterque inferior." What feature in this portrait gives any idea of a monster? Or who can believe that an eye-witness, and so minute a painter, would have mentioned nothing but the inequality of shoulders, if Richard's form had been a compound of ugliness? Could a Yorkist have drawn a less disgusting representation? And yet Rous was a vehement Lancastrian; and the moment he ceased to have truth before his eyes, gave into all the virulence and forgeries of his party, telling us in another place, "that

\* In the prints, the single head is most exactly copied from the drawing, which is unfinished. In the double plate, the reduced likeness of the king could not be so perfectly preserved.

"All featured of Limbs". These two Defects tho' not described by the other Authorities follow of course - since a Man with one Shoulder much higher than the other will <sup>have because of the</sup> ~~not have~~ a smooth <sup>skin</sup> back, where these Imperfections are the Symmetry of the Body being so much disturbed the other Parts will evidently partake of this Deformity, ~~and~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ Limbs will <sup>of such one</sup> will deserve the Name of "All featured."



“ Richard remained two years in his mother’s womb, and  
 “ came forth at last with teeth, and hair on his shoulders.”  
 I leave it to the learned in the profession to decide whether  
 women can go two years with their burden, and produce a  
 living infant ; but that this long pregnancy did not prevent  
 the duchess, his mother, from bearing afterwards, I can  
 prove ; and could we recover the register of the births of  
 her children, I should not be surprized to find, that, as she  
 was a very fruitful woman, there was not above a year be-  
 tween the birth of Richard and his preceding brother Tho-  
 mas \*. However, an ancient † bard, who wrote after  
 Richard was born and during the life of his father, tells us,

Richard liveth yet, but the last of all  
 Was Urfula, to him whom God list call.

\* The author I am going to quote, gives us the order in which the duchess  
 Cecily’s children were born, thus ; Ann duchess of Exeter, Henry, Edward  
 the Fourth, Edmund earl of Rutland, Elizabeth duchess of Suffolk, Mar-  
 garet duchess of Burgundy, William, John, George duke of Clarence, Tho-  
 mas, Richard the Third, and Urfula. Cox, in his History of Ireland, says,  
 that Clarence was born in 1451. Buck computed Richard the Third to have  
 fallen at the age of thirty-four or five; but, by Cox’s account, he could not be  
 more than thirty-two. Still this makes it probable, that their mother bore  
 them and their intervening brother Thomas as soon as she well could one  
 after another.

† See Vincent’s Errors in Brooke’s Heraldry, p. 623.

*Fact for which Rous’s authority is cited;*

Be

*Richard’s Shape*

*Earl Warwick’s appointment to the Succession*

*Henry’s Body publicly exposed at Windsor, smelling sweet*

*Disforesting a Part of the Forest of Whickwoode*

*The Duke of Albany, the K. of Scotland Brother, Presence at Rich-  
 coronation at York J. O. to Pic 8*

Be it as it will, this foolish tale, with the circumstances of his being born with hair and teeth, was coined to intimate how careful Providence was, when it formed a tyrant, to give due warning of what was to be expected. And yet these portents were far from prognosticating a tyrant; for this plain reason, that all other tyrants have been born without these prognostics. Does it require more time to ripen a foetus, that is, to prove a destroyer, than it takes to form an Aristides? Are there outward and visible signs of a bloody nature? Who was handsomer than Alexander, Augustus, or Louis the Fourteenth? and yet who ever commanded the spilling of more human blood?

Having mentioned John Rous, it is necessary I should say something more of him, as he lived in Richard's time, and even wrote his reign; and yet I have omitted him in the list of contemporary writers. The truth is, he was pointed out to me after the preceding sheets were finished; and upon inspection I found him too despicable and lying an author, even amongst monkish authors, to venture to quote him, but for two facts; for the one of which as he was an eye-witness, and for the other, as it was of publick notoriety, he is competent authority.

*yet his authority is  
no longer mentioned than it is neglected  
or forgotten, as has been seen in its place*



The first is his description of the person of Richard; the second, relating to the young earl of Warwick, I have recorded in its place.

This John Rous, so early as in the reign of Edward the Fourth, had retired to the hermitage of Guy's Cliff, where he was a chantry priest, and where he spent the remaining part of his life in what he called studying and writing antiquities. Amongst other works, most of which are not unfortunately lost, he composed a history of the kings of England. It begins with the creation, and is compiled indiscriminately from the Bible and from monastic writers. Moses, he tells us, does not mention all the cities founded before the deluge, but Barnard de Breydenback, dean of Mayence, does. With the same taste he acquaints us, that, though the Book of Genesis says nothing of the matter, Giraldus Cambrensis writes, that Caphera or Cefara, Noah's niece, being apprehensive of the deluge, set out for Ireland, where, with three men and fifty women, she arrived safe with one ship, the rest perishing in the general destruction.

A history, so happily begun, never falls off: prophecies, omens, judgments, and religious foundations compose the bulk of the book. The lives and actions of our monarchs, and the great events of their reigns, seemed to the author to

This is the  
Notorious  
fact for  
which Rous  
is quoted;  
as it is, had  
it not been for  
him, we should  
never have  
known it:  
The other  
Historians  
say not a  
word of it,  
and that Rous  
it may well  
be doubted

The discovery  
of this historian  
was very fortu-  
nate; since it  
gave Mr. W. so  
fair an oppor-  
tunity of  
Indulging his  
Natural  
Propensity to  
the Reading  
of Bede & Brook's  
for the sake  
of Hypothesis  
The ridiculous  
Parts of them.

deserve little place in a history of England. The lives of Henry the Sixth and Edward the Fourth, though the author lived under both, take up but two pages in octavo, and that of Richard the Third, three. We may judge how qualified such an author was to clear up a period so obscure, or what secrets could come to his knowledge at Guy's Cliff: accordingly he retails all the vulgar reports of the times; as that Richard poisoned his wife, and put his nephews to death, though he owns few knew in what manner; but as he lays the scene of their deaths *before* Richard's assumption of the crown, it is plain he was the worst informed of all. To Richard he ascribes the death of Henry the Sixth; and adds, that many persons believed he executed the murder with his own hands: but he records another circumstance that alone must weaken all suspicion of Richard's guilt in that transaction. Richard not only caused the body to be removed from Chertsey, and solemnly interred at Windsor, but it was publicly exposed, and, if we will believe the monk, was found almost entire, and emitted a gracious perfume, though no care had been taken to embalm it. Is it credible that Richard, if the murderer, would have exhibited this unnecessary mummery, only to revive the memory of his own guilt? Was it not rather intended to recall the cruelty of his brother Edward, whose children he had set aside, and whom by the comparison of

this

*The arrival of an Embassy from Spain while  
Rich. kept his court ~~there~~ at Warwick, to propose  
a Marriage between their children?*



this act of piety, he hoped to \* depreciate in the eyes of the people ? The very example had been pointed out to him by Henry the Fifth, who bestowed a pompous funeral on Richard the Second, murdered by order of his father.

Indeed the devotion of Rous to that Lancastrian saint, Henry the Sixth, seems chiefly to engross his attention, and yet it draws him into a contradiction ; for having said that the murder of Henry the Sixth had made Richard detested by all nations who heard of it, he adds, two pages afterwards, that an embassy arrived at Warwick (while Richard kept his court there) from the † king of Spain, to propose a marriage between their children. Of this embassy Rous is a proper witness : Guy's Cliff, I think, is but four miles from Warwick ; and he is too circumstantial on what passed there not to have been on the spot. In other respects he

\* This is not a mere random conjecture, but corroborated by another instance of like address. He disforested a large circuit, which Edward had annexed to the forest of Whichwoode, to the great annoyance of the subject. This we are told by Rous himself, p. 216.

† Drake says, that an ambassador from the queen of Spain was present at Richard's coronation at York. Rous himself owns, that, amidst a great concourse of nobility that attended the king at York, was the duke of Albany, brother of the king of Scotland. Richard therefore appears not to have been abhorred by either the courts of Spain or Scotland.

seems inclined to be impartial, recording several good and generous acts of Richard.

But there is one circumstance, which, besides the weakness and credulity of the man, renders his testimony exceedingly suspicious. After having said, that, *if he may speak truth in Richard's favour* †, he must own that, though small in stature and strength, Richard was a noble knight, and defended himself to the last breath with eminent valour, the monk suddenly turns, and apostrophizes Henry the Seventh, to whom he had dedicated his work, and whom he flatters to the best of his poor abilities; but, above all things, for having bestowed the name of Arthur on his eldest son, who, this injudicious and over-hasty prophet foresees, will restore the glory of his great ancestor of the same name. Had Henry christened his second son Merlin, I do not doubt but poor Rous would have had still more divine visions about Henry the Eighth, though born to shake half the pillars of credulity.

In short, no reliance can be had on an author of such a frame of mind, so removed from the scene of action, and so devoted to the Welsh intruder on the throne. Super-

† Attamen si ad ejus honorem veritatem dicam, p. 218.



added to this incapacity and defects, he had prejudices or attachments of a private nature : he had singular affection for the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick, zealous Lancastrians, and had written their lives. One capital crime that he imputes to Richard is the imprisonment of his mother-in-law, Ann Beauchamp countess of Warwick, mother of his queen. It does seem that this great lady was very hardly treated ; but I have shown from the Chronicle of Croyland, that it was Edward the Fourth, not Richard, that stripped her of her possessions. She was widow too of that turbulent Warwick, the king-maker ; and Henry the Seventh bore witness that she was faithfully loyal to Henry the Sixth. Still it seems extraordinary that the queen did not or could not obtain the enlargement of her mother. When Henry the Seventh attained the crown, she recovered her liberty and vast estates : yet young as his majesty was both in years and avarice, for this munificence took place in his third year, still he gave evidence of the falshood and rapacity of his nature ; for though by act of parliament he cancelled the former act that had deprived her, *as against all reason, conscience, and course of nature, and contrary to the laws of God and man* \*, and restored her possessions to her, this was but a farce, and like

\* Vide Dugdale's Warwickshire in Beauchamp.

his wonted hypocrify ; for the very same year he obliged her to convey the whole estate to him, leaving her nothing but the manor of Sutton for her maintenance. Richard had married her daughter ; but what claim had Henry to her inheritance ? This attachment of Rous to the house of Beauchamp, and the dedication of his work to Henry, would make his testimony most suspicious, even if he had guarded his work within the rules of probability, and not rendered it a contemptible legend.

Every part of Richard's story is involved in obscurity : we neither know what natural children he had, nor what became of them. Sandford says, he had a daughter called Katherine, whom William Herbert earl of Huntingdon covenanted to marry, and to make her a fair and sufficient estate of certain of his manors to the yearly value of 200 l. over and above all charges. As this lord received a confirmation of his title from Henry the Seventh, no doubt the poor young lady would have been sacrificed to that interest. But Dugdale seems to think she died before the nuptials were consummated : "whether this marriage took effect or not I cannot say ; for sure it is that she died in her tender years \*." Drake † affirms, that Richard knighted at York a natural son

\* Baronage, p. 258.

† In his History of York.



called Richard of Gloucester, and supposes it to be the same person of whom Peck has preserved so extraordinary an account †. But never was a supposition worse grounded. The relation given by the latter of himself, was, that he never saw the king till the night before the battle of Bosworth; and that the king had not then acknowledged, but intended to acknowledge him, if victorious. The deep privacy in which this person had lived, demonstrates how severely the persecution had raged against all that were connected with Richard, and how little truth was to be expected from the writers on the other side. Nor could Peck's Richard Plantagenet be the same person with Richard of Gloucester, for the former was never known till he discovered himself to Sir Thomas Moyle; and Hall says that king Richard's natural son was in the hands of Henry the Seventh. Buck says, that Richard made his son Richard of Gloucester, captain of Calais; but it appears from Rymer's *Fœdera*, that Richard's natural son, who was captain of Calais, was called John. None of these accounts accord with Peck's; nor, for want of knowing his mother, can we guess why king Richard was more secret on the birth of this son (if Peck's Richard Plantagenet was truly so) than on those of his other natural children. Perhaps the truest remark that can be made on this

\* See his *Desiderata Curiosa*.

whole story is, that the avidity with which our historians swallowed one gross ill-concocted legend, prevented them from desiring or daring to sift a single part of it. If crumbs of truth are mingled with it, at least they are now undistinguishable in such a mass of error and improbability.

It is evident from the conduct of Shakespeare, that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices, even in the reign of queen Elizabeth. In his play of Richard the Third, he seems to deduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which queen Margaret had vented against them ; and he could not give that weight to her curses, without supposing a right in her to utter them. This indeed is the authority which I do not pretend to combat. Shakespeare's immortal scenes will exist, when such poor arguments as mine are forgotten. Richard at least will be tried and executed on the stage, when his defence remains on some obscure shelf of a library. But while these pages may excite the curiosity of a day, it may not be unentertaining to observe, that there is another of Shakespeare's plays, that may be ranked among the historic, though not one of his numerous critics and commentators have discovered the drift of it ; I mean *The Winter Evening's Tale*, which was certainly intended (in compliment to queen Elizabeth) as an indirect apology for her mother Anne Boleyn. The address of the poet



poet appears no where to more advantage. The subject was too delicate to be exhibited on the stage without a veil ; and it was too recent, and touched the queen too nearly, for the bard to have ventured so home an allusion on any other ground than compliment. The unreasonable jealousy of Leontes, and his violent conduct in consequence, form a true portrait of Henry the Eighth, who generally made the law the engine of his boisterous passions. Not only the general plan of the story is most applicable, but several passages are so marked, that they touch the real history nearer than the fable. Hermione on her trial says,

——— for honour,

'Tis a derivative from me to mine,

And only that I stand for.

This seems to be taken from the very letter of Anne Boleyn to the king before her execution, where she pleads for the infant princess his daughter. Mamillius, the young prince, an unnecessary character, dies in his infancy ; but it confirms the allusion, as queen Anne, before Elizabeth, bore a still-born son. But the most striking passage, and which had nothing to do in the tragedy, but as it pictured Elizabeth, is, where Paulina, describing the new-born princess, and her likeness to her father, says, *she has the very trick of*

Q 2

*his*

*When the King dyed his frown.* There is one sentence indeed so applicable, both to Elizabeth and her father, that I should suspect the poet inserted it after her death. Paulina, speaking of the child, tells the king,

———'Tis yours ;

And might we lay the old proverb to your charge,  
So like you, 'tis the worfe.—

The Winter Evening's Tale was therefore in reality a second part of Henry the Eighth.

*With regard to Jane Shore, I have already shown that it was her connection with the marquis Dorset, not with lord Hastings, which drew on her the resentment of Richard.*

*When an event is thus wrested to serve the purpose of a party, we ought to be very cautious how we trust an historian, who is capable of employing truth only as cement in a fabric of fiction. Sir Thomas More tells us, that Richard pretended Jane "was of councell with the lord Hastings to destroy him ; and in conclusion, when no colour could fasten upon these matters, then he layd seriously to her charge what she could not deny," namely her adultery ; and for this cause, as a godly continent prince, cleane and*

*Hastings was " faultlesse of himself, sent out of heaven into this vicious world*

*beheaded the 13<sup>th</sup> June*  
*Jane was at liberty to seek a New Lover. She found one in the Marquis of Dorset, if we may believe Richard's Proclamations, is dated in the October following. But Mr. W. says "he has already shewn that it was her connection with the Marquis Dorset not with Lord Hastings which drew on her Richard's Resentment." How has he done this? By affirming on his own Judgement against the Authority of History, that it was not*



“ world for the amendment of mens manners, he caused the  
 “ bishop of London to put her to open penance.”

This sarcasm on Richard's morals would have had more weight, if the author had before confined himself to deliver nothing but the precise truth. He does not seem to be more exact in what relates to the penance itself. Richard, by his proclamation, taxed mistress Shore with plotting treason in confederacy with the marquis Dorset. Consequently, it was not from defect of proof of her being accomplice with lord Hastings that she was put to open penance. If Richard had any hand in that sentence, it was, because he *had* proof of her plotting with the marquis. But I doubt, and with some reason, whether her penance was inflicted by Richard. We have seen that he acknowledged at least two natural children ; and Sir Thomas More hints that Richard was far from being remarkable for his chastity. Is it therefore probable, that he acted so silly a farce as to make his brother's mistress do penance ? Most of the charges on Richard are so idle, that instead of being an able and artful usurper, as his antagonists allow, he must have been a weaker hypocrite than ever attempted to wrest a sceptre out of the hands of a legal possessor.

*probable that immediately on the Death of the R. she had been taken into keeping by lord Hastings. It were to be wished It he had told us why it appears to him so improbable, that a Woman of Jane's Character at the Death of one man with whom she lived shou'd betake herself to another. Men in General are satisfied with the fondness of a Mistress while they are living ; but Mr. W. seems to think it shou'd continue at least seven Months after <sup>they</sup> are dead. Near seven Months, he says, had elapsed between the King's Death & her connection with the Marquis ; then all it seems was well. But*

Harl. MSS, No. 2378.

“ Right reverend fadre in God, &c. Signifying unto  
“ you, that it is shewed unto us, that our servaunt and sol-  
“ licitor, Thomas Lynom, merveillously blinded and abused  
“ with the late (wife) of Willm Shore, now being in Lud-  
“ gate by oure commandment, hath made contract of matry-  
“ mony with hir (as it is said) and entendith, to our full  
“ grete merveile, to procede to th’effect of the same. We  
“ for many causes wold be fory that hee soo shulde be dis-  
“ posed. Pray you therefore to send for him, and in that  
“ ye goodly may, exhorte and sture hym to the contrarye.

did Jane do Penance in June for the connection, with <sup>And</sup> to the Mass in the October following. B. his if. mistake not is what W. W. thinks probable. For being willing to shift the Odium of the Penance from Richard, <sup>with her</sup> he thinks should not be ascribed to him, he says it is more likely that the Churchmen were the authors of Jane's Penance that Richard interested to manage that Body & provoked with her connection with so capital an Enemy as Dorset might give



“ And if ye finde him utterly set for to marye hur, and noen  
 “ otherwise will be advertised, then (if it may stand with  
 “ the lawe of the churche) We be content (the tyme of  
 “ mariage deferred to our comyng next to London) that  
 “ upon sufficient suertie founde of hure good abering, ye  
 “ doo send for hure keeper, and discharge him of our said  
 “ commandment by warrant of these, committing hur to  
 “ the rule and guiding of hure fadre, or any othre by your  
 “ discretion in the mene season. Yeven, &c.

“ To the right reverend fadre in God, &c. the bishop of  
 “ Lincoln, our chauncellour.”

It appears from this letter, that Richard thought it indecent for his solicitor to marry a woman who had suffered public punishment for adultery, and who was confined by his command—but where is the tyrant to be found in this paper? Or, what prince ever spoke of such a scandal, and what is stronger, of such contempt of his authority, with so much lenity and temper? He enjoins his chancellor to dissuade the solicitor from the match—but should he persist—a tyrant would have ordered the solicitor to prison too—but Richard—Richard, if his servant will not be dissuaded, allows the match; and in the mean time commits Jane—to whose custody?—Her own father's. I cannot help thinking that some holy person had been her persecutor, and not so patient and gentle a king. And I believe so, because of the

her up, & permit the clergy to revenge his quarrel <sup>salvo</sup> "le P<sup>re</sup>st  
 The Reason of this Supposition is very convincing & of a piece with  
 all the other Reasons in this Book - There is a Letter of Richard  
 as told us extent on the Museum to the Bishop of Lincoln, desiring <sup>if he can</sup> him  
 to prevail on the King's Solicitor to give up the Thought of marrying  
 Jane with whom it seems he was fallen desperately in love. but  
 in conclusion consenting, if the Lawyer would not otherwise be  
 advertised to the Match. On the grounds of this letter he thinks

salvo for the church : " Let them be married," says Richard,  
 " if it may stand with the lawe of the churche."

From the proposed marriage, one should at first conclude that Shore, the former husband of Jane, was dead ; but by the king's query, whether the marriage would be lawful ? and by her being called in the letter *the late wife of William Shore*, not of *the late William Shore*, I should suppose that her husband was living, and that the penance itself was the consequence of a suit preferred by him to the ecclesiastic court for divorce. If the injured husband ventured, on the death of Edward the Fourth, to petition to be separated from his wife, it was natural enough for the church to proceed farther, and enjoin her to perform penance, especially when they fell in with the king's resentment to her. Richard's proclamation and the letter above-recited seem to point out this account of Jane's misfortunes ; the letter implying, that Richard doubted whether her divorce was so complete as to leave her at liberty to take another husband. As we hear no more of the marriage, and as Jane to her death retained the name of Shore, my solution is corroborated ; the chancellor-bishop, no doubt, going more roundly to work than the king had done. Nor, however Sir Thomas More reviles Richard for his cruel usage of mistress Shore, did either of the succeeding kings redress her wrongs, though she lived to the

3

eighteenth

*the clergy made Jane Shore do Penance in June, against Richard's Will, for an offence committed four Months afterwards. Is there a Man alive, but W. W. that could have written this ? His Reasoning on this Letter is perfectly ridiculous - The Lawyer's Attachment to Jane Shore, he calls a Contempt of his Authority & a Scandal of great magnitude. Richard's consent to the Match & his care of committing Jane*



Eighteenth year of Henry the Eighth. She had sown her good deeds, her good offices, her alms, her charities, in a court. Not one took root; nor did the ungrateful soil repay her a grain of relief in her penury and comfortless old age.

I have thus gone through the several accusations against Richard; and have shown that they rest on the slightest and most suspicious ground, if they rest on any at all. I have proved that they ought to be reduced to the sole authorities of Sir Thomas More and Henry the Seventh; the latter interested to blacken and misrepresent every action of Richard; and perhaps driven to father on him even his own crimes. I have proved that More's account cannot be true. I have shown that the writers, contemporary with Richard, either do not accuse him, or give their accusations as mere vague and uncertain reports: and what is as strong, the writers next in date, and who wrote the earliest after the events are said to have happened, assert little or nothing from their own information, but adopt the very words of Sir Thomas More, who was absolutely mistaken or misinformed.

For the sake of those who have a mind to canvass this subject, I will recapitulate the most material arguments that tend to disprove what has been asserted; but as I attempt not to affirm what *did* happen in a period that will still re-

*when he had causelessly imprisoned Richard, to the last day, main  
of her father, when he had thought fit to release <sup>him</sup> from that  
wicked Bondage, gave him the Title of the Patient &  
Gentle Richard, ~~and first given him~~ & makes him  
conclude, as has been before seen, that none but a Holy Man  
can & have been her Persecutor —*

main very obscure, I flatter myself that I shall not be thought either fantastic or paradoxical, for not blindly adopting an improbable tale, which our historians have never given themselves the trouble to examine.

What mistakes I may have made myself, I shall be willing to acknowledge ; what weak reasoning, to give up : but I shall not think that a long chain of arguments, of proofs and probabilities, is confuted at once, because some single fact may be found erroneous. Much less shall I be disposed to take notice of detached or trifling cavils. The work itself is but an inquiry into a short portion of our annals. I shall be content, if I have informed or amused my readers, or thrown any light on so clouded a scene ; but I cannot be of opinion that a period thus distant deserves to take up more time than I have already bestowed upon it.

It seems then to me to appear,

That Fabian and the authors of the Chronicle of Croyland, who were contemporaries with Richard, charge him directly with none of the crimes, since imputed to him, and disculpate him of others.

That John Rous, the third contemporary, could know the facts he alledges but by {hearsay, confounds the dates of them,



dedicated his work to Henry the Seventh, and is an author to whom no credit is due, from the lies and fables with which his work is stuffed.

That we have no authors, who lived near the time, but Lancastrian authors, who wrote to flatter Henry the Seventh, or who spread the tales which he invented.

That the murder of prince Edward, son of Henry the Sixth, was committed by king Edward's servants, and is imputed to Richard by no contemporary.

That Henry the Sixth was found dead in the Tower ; that it was not known how he came by his death ; and that it was against Richard's interest to murder him.

That the duke of Clarence was defended by Richard ; that the parliament petitioned for his execution ; that no author of the time is so absurd as to charge Richard with being the executioner ; and that king Edward took the deed wholly on himself.

That Richard's stay at York on his brother's death had no appearance of a design to make himself king.

That the ambition of the queen, who attempted to usurp the government, contrary to the then established custom of the realm, gave the first provocation to Richard and the princes of the blood to assert their rights ; and that Richard was solicited by the duke of Buckingham to vindicate those rights.

That the preparation of an armed force under earl Rivers, the seizure of the Tower and treasure, and the equipment of a fleet, by the marquis Dorset, gave occasion to the princes to imprison the relations of the queen ; and that, though they were put to death without trial (the only cruelty which is *proved* on Richard) it was consonant to the manners of that barbarous and turbulent age, and not till after the queen's party had taken up arms.

That the execution of lord Hastings, who had first engaged with Richard against the queen, and whom Sir Thomas More confesses Richard was *lothe to lose*, can be accounted for by nothing but absolute necessity, and the law of self-defence.

That Richard's assumption of the protectorate was in every respect agreeable to the laws and usage ; was probably bestowed on him by the universal consent of the council and  
5
peers,



peers, and was a strong indication that he had then no thought of questioning the right of his nephew.

That the tale of Richard aspersing the chastity of his own mother is incredible ; it appearing that he lived with her in perfect harmony, and lodged with her in her palace at that very time.

That it is as little credible that Richard gained the crown by a sermon of Dr. Shaw, and a speech of the duke of Buckingham, if the people only laughed at those orators.

That there had been a precontract or marriage between Edward the Fourth and lady Eleanor Talbot ; and that Richard's claim to the crown was founded on the illegitimacy of Edward's children.

That a convention of the nobility, clergy, and people invited him to accept the crown on that title.

That the ensuing parliament ratified the act of the convention, and confirmed the bastardy of Edward's children.

That nothing can be more improbable than Richard's having taken no measures before he left London, to have his nephews murdered, if he had had any such intention.

That

That the story of Sir James Tirrel, as related by Sir Thomas More, is a notorious falshood ; Sir James Tirrel being at that time master of the horse, in which capacity he had walked at Richard's coronation.

That Tirrel's jealousy of Sir Richard Ratcliffe is another palpable falshood ; Tirrel being already preferred, and Ratcliffe absent.

That all that relates to Sir Robert Brakenbury is no less false : Brakenbury either being too good a man to die for a tyrant or murderer, or too bad a man to have refused being his accomplice.

That Sir Thomas More and lord Bacon both confess that many doubted, whether the two princes were murdered in Richard's days or not ; and it certainly never was proved that they were murdered by Richard's order.

That Sir Thomas More relied on nameless and uncertain authority ; that it appears by dates and facts that his authorities were bad and false ; that if Sir James Tirrel and Dighton had really committed the murder and confessed it, and if Perkin Warbeck had made a voluntary, clear, and probable confession



confession of his imposture, there could have remained no doubt of the murder.

That Green, the nameless page, and Will Slaughter, having never been questioned about the murder, there is no reason to believe what is related of them in the supposed tragedy.

That Sir James Tirrel not being attainted on the death of Richard, but having, on the contrary, been employed in great services by Henry the Seventh, it is not probable that he was one of the murderers. That lord Bacon owning that Tirrel's confession did not please the king so well as Dighton's ; that Tirrel's imprisonment and execution some years afterwards for a new treason, of which we have no evidence, and which appears to have been mere suspicion, destroy all probability of his guilt in the supposed murder of the children.

That the impunity of Dighton, if really guilty, was scandalous ; and can only be accounted for on the supposition of his being a false witness to serve Henry's cause against Perkin Warbeck.

That the silence of the two archbishops, and Henry's not daring to specify the murder of the princes in the act of attainer

tainder against Richard, wears all the appearance of their not having been murdered.

That Richard's tenderness and kindness to the earl of Warwick, proceeding so far as to proclaim him his successor, betrays no symptom of that cruel nature, which would not stick at assassinating any competitor.

That it is indubitable that Richard's first idea was to keep the crown but till Edward the Fifth should attain the age of twenty-four.

That with this view he did *not* create his own son prince of Wales till after he had proved the bastardy of his brother's children.

That there is no proof that those children were murdered.

That Richard made, or intended to make, his nephew Edward the Fifth walk at his coronation.

That there is strong presumption from the parliament-roll and from the Chronicle of Croyland, that both princes were living some time after Sir Thomas More fixes the date of their deaths.

That



That when his own son was dead, Richard was so far from intending to get rid of his wife, that he proclaimed his nephews, first the earl of Warwick, and then the earl of Lincoln, his heirs apparent.

That there is not the least probability of his having poisoned his wife, who died of a languishing distemper : that no proof was ever pretended to be given of it ; that a bare supposition of such a crime, without proofs or very strong presumptions, is scarce ever to be credited.

That he seems to have had no intention of marrying his niece, but to have amused her with the hopes of that match, to prevent her marrying Richmond.

That Buck would not have dared to quote her letter as extant in the earl of Arundel's library, if it had not been there : that others of Buck's assertions having been corroborated by subsequent discoveries, leave no doubt of his veracity on this ; and that that letter disculpates Richard from poisoning his wife ; and only shews the impatience of his niece to be queen.

That it is probable the queen-dowager knew her second

S

son

son was living, and connived at the appearance of Lambert Simnel, to feel the temper of the nation.

That Henry the Seventh certainly thought that she and the earl of Lincoln were privy to the existence of Richard duke of York, and that Henry lived in terror of his appearance.

That the different conduct of Henry with regard to Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, implies how different an opinion he had of them; that, in the first case, he used the most natural and most rational methods to prove him an impostor; whereas his whole behaviour in Perkin's case was mysterious, and betrayed his belief or doubt that Warbeck was the true duke of York.

That it was morally impossible for the dukes of Burgundy at the distance of twenty-seven years to instruct a Flemish lad so perfectly in all that had passed in the court of England, that he would not have been detected in few hours.

That she could not inform him, nor could he know, what had passed in the Tower, unless he was the true duke of York.

That



That if he was not the true duke of York, Henry had nothing to do but to confront him with Tirrel and Dighton, and the imposture must have been discovered.

That Perkin, never being confronted with the queen-dowager, and the princesses her daughters, proves that Henry did not dare to trust to their acknowledging him.

That if he was not the true duke of York, he might have been detected by not knowing the queens and princesses, if shown to him without his being told who they were.

That it is not pretended that Perkin ever failed in language, accent, or circumstances ; and that his likeness to Edward the Fourth is allowed.

That there are gross and manifest blunders in his pretended confession.

That Henry was so afraid of not ascertaining a good account of the purity of his English accent, that he makes him learn English twice over.

That lord Bacon did not dare to adhere to this ridiculous account ; but forges another, though in reality, not much more credible.

That a number of Henry's best friends, as the lord chamberlain, who placed the crown on his head, knights of the garter, and men of the fairest characters, being persuaded that Perkin was the true duke of York, and dying for that belief, without recanting, makes it very rash to deny that he was not so.

That the proclamation in Rymer's *Fœdera* against Jane Shore, for plotting with the marquis Dorset, not with lord Hastings, destroys all the credit of Sir Thomas More, as to what relates to the latter peer.

In short, that Henry's character, as we have received it from his own apologists, is so much worse and more hateful than Richard's, that we may well believe Henry invented and propagated by far the greater part of the slanders against Richard : that Henry, not Richard, probably put to death the true duke of York, as he did the earl of Warwick : and that we are not certain whether Edward the Fifth was murdered ; nor, if he was, by whose order he was murdered.

After all that has been said, it is scarce necessary to add a word on the supposed discovery that was made of the skeletons of the two young princes, in the reign of Charles the Second. Two skeletons found in that dark abyss of so many secret



secret transactions, with no marks to ascertain the time, the age of their interment, can certainly verify nothing. We must believe both princes died there, before we can believe that their bones were found there : and upon what that belief can be founded, or how we shall cease to doubt whether Perkin Warbeck was not one of those children, I am at a loss to guess.

As little is it requisite to argue on the grants made by Richard the Third to his supposed accomplices in that murder, because the argument will serve either way. It was very natural that they, who had tasted most of Richard's bounty, should be suspected as the instruments of his crimes. But till it can be proved that those crimes were committed, it is in vain to bring evidence to show who assisted him in perpetrating them. For my own part, I know not what to think of the death of Edward the Fifth : I can neither entirely acquit Richard of it, nor condemn him ; because there are no proofs on either side ; and though a court of justice would, from that defect of evidence, absolve him ; opinion may fluctuate backwards and forwards, and at last remain in suspense.

For the younger brother, the balance seems to incline greatly on the side of Perkin Warbeck, as the true duke of  
 3 York ;

York ; and if one was saved, one knows not how nor why to believe that Richard destroyed only the elder.

We must leave this whole story dark, though not near so dark as we found it : and it is perhaps as wise to be uncertain on one portion of our history, as to believe so much as is believed in all histories, though very probably as falsely delivered to us, as the period which we have here been examining.

F I N I S.

3 MR 62



## A D D I T I O N.

The following notice, obligingly communicated to me by Mr. Stanley, came too late to be inserted in the body of the work, and yet ought not to be omitted.

After the death of Perkin Warbeck, his widow, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, from her exquisite beauty, and upon account of her husband called *The white rose of Scotland*, was married to Sir Matthew Cradock, and is buried with him in Herbert's isle in Swansea church in Wales, where their tomb is still to be seen, with this inscription in ancient characters :

“ Here lies Sr Mathie Cradok knight, sune time deputie  
“ unto the right honorable Charles Erle of Worcets in the  
“ countie of Glamorgan, R. Attor. G. R. Chauncelor of the  
“ fame, steward of Gower and Hilvei, and mi ladie Kate-  
“ rin his wife.”

They had a daughter Mary, who was married to Sir Edward Herbert, son of the first earl of Pembroke ; and from that match are descended the earls of Pembroke and Powis, Hans Stanley, Esq; George Rice, Esq; &c.

## ERRATA.

*Page.*

49. *for* Sir Richard, *read* Lord Richard.

58. *for* As Sir James Tirrel, *read* and as Sir James Tirrel too.

*ib.* line 3. *for* treason. What, *read* treason ; what

65. *at bottom, for* parel, *read* his.

66. line 1. *dele* *for*.

---

## Directions to the Book-Binder.

Place the head of the King to front the title-page, and the plate of the King and Queen at page 103.

3 MR 62



